This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

TRAVELS OF COUNT DE BENYOWSKY

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES

"*Adventures are to the adventurous.*"

BEACONSFIELD.

THE ADVENTURE SERIES.

Illustrated. Popular Re-issue, large cr. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

---

1. **Adventures of a Younger Son.** By E. J. TRELAWNY.
2. **Robert Drury's Journal in Madagascar.**
3. **Memoirs of the Extraordinary Military Career of John Shipp.**
4. **The Buccaneers and Marooners of America.**
5. **The Log of a Jack Tar: or, The Life of James Choyce.** With O'Brien's Captivity in France.
6. **The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto.**
7. **The Adventures of a Blockade-Runner; or, Trade in Time of War.**
8. **Memoirs and Travels of Count de Benyowsky.**

THE MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS OF MAURITIUS AUGUSTUS COUNT DE BENYOWSKY

Benyovzsky, M

IN SIBERIA, KAMCHATKA, JAPAN, THE LIUKIU ISLANDS AND FORMOSA

FROM THE TRANSLATION OF HIS ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT (1741–1771), *BY WILLIAM NICHOLSON, F.R.S.*, 1790

EDITED BY CAPTAIN PASFIELD OLIVER

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN, PATERNOSTER SQUARE. MDCCCXCVIII

D285.8
B4 A3313

CONTENTS.

PAGE

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION 13

An account of the troubles in Poland in the years 1768, 1769; more particularly those events in which the Count Benyowsky had a share, and which terminated in his being made prisoner by the Russians 53

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—The Count arrives at Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia—Humanity of the Governor—Departure from that place—Villages on the road—City of Tara—River and town of Tomsky—The Tartars interest themselves in favour of the exiles—A proposal is made to the Count to escape to China, to which his wounds prevent his acceding—Present to the exiles from the Tartars—Disinterested behaviour of their conductor 93

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Tomszky—Juska Krasnoiarszk—Illimsk—Price current of European goods and furs at that place—Jakutzk—Privileged company of traders in furs—The Count projects his future escape in concert with M. Hoffman—A society of exiles formed—They depart for Jakutzk—Leaving M. Hoffman behind—Their guards quarrel—Alarming consequence of M. Hoffman's death—Its effects happily prevented 99

CHAPTER III.

Village of Judoma—Sledges drawn by dogs—Arrival at Ochoczk—Description of that town and harbour—State of its commerce—The exiles embark for Kamchatka—Their dangerous passage . . . 108

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE

Arrival at Kamchatka—Conference with some exiles there—They wait upon the Governor, and receive instructions—Village of the exiles—Ordinances of the Czar Peter for their regulation 115

CHAPTER V.

The Count forms an intimacy with Mr. Crustiew, an exile—Society established for projecting the means of escape—The Count's speech and plan of a constitution—The exiles wait upon the Governor and the Chancellor—The Governor appoints the Count to teach the languages to his children—An unforeseen event tends greatly to mitigate the distresses and advance the projects of the exiles 122

CHAPTER VI.

The Count enters upon his office as language-master—The Governor presents him with a female slave, and a sledge drawn by dogs—A proposal made to him by some of the chief gentlemen of the town to establish a school—A party at chess—An evening's entertainment—Partiality of Miss Aphanasia Nilow, the Governor's youngest daughter, for the Count—Madame Nilow approves her attachment 129

CHAPTER VII.

A building erected for a school—Conversation with Madame Nilow—Profits arising from the Count's skill at chess—Miss Aphanasia converses with the Count—The society of exiles reinforced—Hunting the bear 133

CHAPTER VIII.

Public school opened—The society of exiles meet on business relative to their escape by sea—Chess—The Count composes charts of the coasts and islands adjoining to Kamchatka—Dangerous consequence of the affair last debated in the society of exiles—Averted by the Count, who narrowly escapes assassination—His enemy punished 138

CHAPTER IX.

The exiles narrowly escape poisoning on New Year's day. Discovery of the author, who discloses their project, as communicated to him by one of their number—The exiles meet and put the traitor to death in the night—Farther inquiries made by Government, which are rendered abortive by an accidental circumstance 144

CHAPTER X.

PAGE

The Count constructs a musical instrument for his scholar, Miss Aphanasia—Members proposed to the society of exiles—Plan of operation settled—The Governor proposes a journey—Large sums of money won at chess, and part presented to the Governor's family—Miss Aphanasia declares her affection for the Count in the presence of her father, who is exceedingly irritated, but is pacified by his colleagues in office—The Governor makes the necessary dispositions to reverse the sentence of exile under which the Count was banished . 148

CHAPTER XI.

The Count is in danger of being put to death by his associates—Their suspicions removed—An embarrassing dilemma—Presents made to the Count—The manner of his absolution from the sentence of exile —He makes a proposal to the council—Generous disposition of the chief inhabitants of the town — Consequences of the Count's advancement 152

CHAPTER XII.

Proof of the confidence and attachment of the exiles to the Count—The Governor and council liberate the exiles—The Count promises to procure the enlargement of the person who attempted to poison him—Farther progress of the exiles in their projects to escape—An entertainment proposed—The gentlemen of the town make presents to the Count—Good effects of the Count's exertions in favour of his enemy 159

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for marriage—Singular preliminary custom—Precautions for preserving secrecy and securing the progress of the undertaking of the exiles during the Count's absence—Grand projects for creating governments and empires in the north—An entertainment on the occasion of the freedom of the exiles 164

CHAPTER XIV.

A journal of an excursion made by the Governor of Bolsorezky Ostrogg in company with the Count de Benyowsky 170

CHAPTER XV.

The narrative of the proceedings of the exiles resumed—Preparations for war—The constitution of the society of exiles altered—Consequence thence arising 174

CHAPTER XVI.

PAGE
Various proceedings in the Association for projecting the escape of the exiles from slavery 179

CHAPTER XVII.

The exiles in danger of treachery—They endeavour to procure a vessel, but without success—Their military arrangement—Final project . 184

CHAPTER XVIII.

A journey to Lopattka—Return to Bolsha 191

CHAPTER XIX.

A dangerous disturbance among the exiles—Its consequence . . 195

CHAPTER XX.

The Count negotiates with the captain of a vessel—Preparations for the approaching crisis 202

CHAPTER XXI.

Preparations for departure—Miss Aphanasia discovers the intention of the exiles 207

CHAPTER XXII.

Various proceedings—The Chancellor receives information of the attempts of the exiles—The Count's exertions to prevent the consequences of this discovery 213

CHAPTER XXIII.

The subject of the preceding chapter continued 218

CHAPTER XXIV.

Various proceedings relative to the projected escape of the exiles and the discoveries made by Government 221

CHAPTER XXV.

Proceedings of the Government of Kamchatka in consequence of the discovery of the Count's plan to liberate the exiles . . . 227

CHAPTER XXVI.

PAGE

The Government sends a military force to take the Count prisoner—The exiles oppose them, and by their superior bravery and military skill, assisted by a fortunate concurrence of events, they gain possession of the fort—The Governor is slain in the attack 234

CHAPTER XXVII.

The proceedings of the Count and his party of exiles from the time of gaining possession of the fort to the time of the surrender of the military force of the Government, who gave hostages to the Count 238

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Transactions from the time of the receiving of hostages from the military of the Province to the final embarkation of the Count and his party in the *St. Peter and St. Paul* 244

A continuation of the Memoirs of the Count de Benyowsky, being a journal of his voyage by sea, from the peninsula of Kamchatka to Canton in China 252

INTRODUCTION.

N the accession to the Imperial throne of that masterful empress, Catherine of Russia, the investigation and exploration of the vast territories in Asia and America on either side of the Behring's Straits were pushed forward and encouraged to the utmost by that truly great woman; and the discoveries made by the Russian navigators in the North Pacific Ocean excited great interest among the merchants and seamen of Western Europe, whose cupidity was thoroughly aroused by the rumours of the profits made in the commerce of the furs obtained in the Aleutian Islands and the neighbouring coasts of Alaska, by trade with the Chinese ports, especially at Canton, then the principal mart for European goods in the Flowery Kingdom. Several German publications professed to give accurate information of the discoveries in Siberia, Kamchatka, and the islands beyond, but previous to the publication of Captain Cook's Voyages and Coxe's "Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America," in 1780, profound ignorance of geographical research in these regions existed in London, Paris, and other cities of Europe. Any book, therefore, which professed to record original observation in those distant quarters of the world was certain to receive particular attention, more especially as great secrecy was observed by the Dutch traders who visited Japan, and intense jealousy reigned between the several East Indian Companies of the different nationalities east of the Cape. It may therefore be imagined what curiosity was excited in commercial circles

when rumours became noised abroad of remarkable discoveries achieved by an officer of Queen Maria Theresa's army in the islands lying to the west of North America and also south of Japan.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1772,* there appeared the following "extraordinary Account, in a letter from Canton, dated Nov. 19, 1771, said to be authentic":—

"Towards the latter end of September, 1771, a vessel of uncommon appearance arrived at Macao, a Portuguese settlement near the entrance of Canton river, with sixty-five persons on board, most of them military. The Commanding Officer bore the rank of Colonel and title of Baron de Benyofsky, which he held under the Queen of Hungary. There were in the vessel five persons in women's apparel. The following account is taken from the Colonel. He was sent by the Queen of Hungary with a body of five thousand men in May, 1769, to join the Catholic Confederates in Poland against the Polish Protestants, whe were strongly supported by the Russians. A battle soon ensued, in which the Protestants defeated and took prisoners the greater part of their enemies. The Colonel, with many of his countrymen, was carried to Casan. They were closely confined and cruelly treated, which determined them to resolve on an escape. An opportunity soon favoured their design, by their guard being reduced, which they overpowered; and having taken their arms, with incredible difficulties, they directed their route to Kamschatka, on the sea-coast of Tartary, where the Colonel knew a friend, on whose assistance his hopes depended. On his arrival at Kamschatka his friend furnished him with a vessel, in which he embarked with eighty-five of his fellow-prisoners. As he had been formerly in the marine service of the States of Malta, he knew something of navigation, by the assistance of which he determined to sail to China; but being scantily provided, he resolved to keep near the coast. A strong gale of wind, which he soon met with from the westward, defeated his purpose. The Colonel, then giving up all thoughts of regaining the coast, sailed to the

* "Extraordinary Relation of a Voyage to Macao," the *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. xlii., for the year MDCCLXXII., p. 272, by Sylvanus Urban, Gent.

eastward and southward till he saw part of North America,* in lat. 57·0° N. Here he refreshed his people, having encountered every difficulty Nature is able to sustain. From hence he endeavoured to go to Acapulco, but contrary winds prevented him. This obliged him to sail for the Philippine Islands, intending to go into Manilla, but was again disappointed by contrary winds. He proceeded then for Macao, having once more experienced surprising difficulties, being five months on his passage from Kamschatka.

"I am, Sir, etc.

"P.S.—Since I wrote the above, the following strange account has reached me from Macao (every day brings forth new matter concerning these people): One of the persons dressed like a woman died a few days since. The body was sent on shore, with the following very extraordinary request to the Governor: That the corpse should be interred where none had lain before, and in an honourable spot; that the Baron might have liberty to attend the funeral to pay particular honours to the deceased. This remarkable request producing that never-failing curiosity peculiar to the Romish priesthood, two *worthies* of the Franciscan order, taking advantage of the night, *peeped* into the coffin and discovered the body of a man. This deception disgusting the Portuguese exceedingly, the body was ordered common interment. Various are the accounts we have of the rank of the deceased. Some say the Baron declares he was a Prince of the empire; others report him a Bishop. This account has produced many conjectures, not very favourable to the remaining petticoats."

"'*Copy of a Paper sent by Baron de* Benyofsky *from* Macao *to a Gentleman at Canton.*

'Became prisoner in the year 1769.

'Carried away into exile with the Princes P. Szoltik, Bishop of Cracowia, P. Czanguzko, P. Rzsevûizky, P. Paez, Bishop of Kiowe.

'Kamschatka, under the 63rd degree of north lat. 175 deg. longitude, month of May, 1771, sailed on board the *S. Peter*, Galliot, in order to pass as far as 238 W. deg. of long. and 57

* Probably California.

N. deg. of lat., from whence we were to pass to the Isle of Marian ; * with a great tempest and a very strong wind came to Japan ; rounded that place from the port of Namgu ; † went on shore ; from thence came to the Isle of Tonzo or Bongo ; from thence proceeded as far as Nangeasaki ; from which place after taking in wines, sailed out again and passed by the Isles of Uljina, as far as Formosa and the Isle of Bassee ; lastly took the straight course to Makaw, where I arrived in the month of September, 1771.

'Signed.

'Baron Maurice Aout of Aladar and Benyofsky, Colonel in her Imperial Majesty's service, and Regimentary General of the Confederates.

'Went out with 85 men.

'Came back with 62.' "‡

This account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* was doubtless communicated by Mr. Nathaniel Barlow, who took it down from the Colonel's own words at Macao when the Hungarian refugees arrived there ; and the same gentleman adds in a private letter, published by Mr. Nicholson :—

"He [Baron Benyofsky] was as far north as 63 degrees ; had with him Lord Anson's Voyages, translated into the Sclavonian language, which he repeatedly said was of the greatest use to him, being guided in a great measure by them. In his apartment were several mathematical instruments, especially a quadrant, and a cross-staff. On requesting for a sight of his drafts, he with great reluctance produced one, but, unluckily, a gentleman in company telling him that one of us was a sea-captain, he immediately withdrew, and carried with him the draft, by which we lost the opportunity of knowing more particulars of this very extraordinary voyage. The

* This is either the Mareekan of Ismailoff, or one of the Marianne islands.

† Namgu or Namqu, is apparently the town now known as Nangoya, whose seaport is Fune Kata (Atatsu), otherwise named by Benyowsky as Usilpatchar, at the head of Owari Bay in Nipon. Tonza and Bongo are Tosa in Sikok and the Bongo channel.

‡ A memo. is added to the original edition by Mr. Nicholson to the effect that : "The original from which the foregoing is taken being wrote with very faint ink upon bad paper, and German characters frequently used, have occasioned imperfections in this copy."

vessel is fifty feet long, and sixteen broad, built entirely of fir."

A more important document, however, proceeding from an authority perfectly disinterested and wholly above suspicion, is an extract from a letter of Monseigneur, the Bishop Le Bon, dated September 24, 1771, at Macao; of which the following is a translation:—

"Yesterday arrived at Macao a vessel under Hungarian colours, commanded by the Hungarian Baron, Maurice Auguste Aladar Benyofsky, Councellor to Prince Albert, Duke of Saxony, Colonel (in the service) of her Apostolic Royal Imperial Majesty, the Queen of Hungary, and officer of a regiment of the confederation of the republic of Poland. This gentleman, after having received seven wounds in a battle against the Russians, near Kaminietz, was made prisoner of war, and conducted into the same town where the Prince Szoltits, Bishop of Cracovia, is detained a prisoner of State. The Baron found the means to escape, after having received a patent from the Prince Bishop, the prisoner, who exhorts all Catholics especially to assist the said Sieur Aladar Benyofsky, to procure him the means of repairing to the presence of the Emperor of Germany, and before the Holy Apostolic Court. The patent of the Prelate is dated from his prison, on the 6th November, 1770. Out of fifty-four men of his equipage, there remains no more to this Captain than eight men in health; all the rest are confined to their beds. For two months past they suffered hunger and thirst. He has been twice shipwrecked and twice they have repaired their vessel. He is not acquainted with the Portuguese or the Spanish, but he speaks Latin, French, and German. He came from the North and has coasted the island of Japan, &c."

[Mr. Nicholson remarks on this letter that this account does not agree with the Count's memoirs; and that the Count was at or near the town of Okhotsk in Siberia at the time the patent is said to have been given at Kaminietz. On the 6th November, 1769, it may be remarked Benyowsky was a prisoner on parole in Kazan. (*Vide infra.*)

Benyowsky's records, however, will not bear investigation. He forgot when he presented these documents to M. de

Magellan that, when at Mauritius, he had written a letter to the Chevalier des Roches, the Governor, in which he states that whilst at Solichanszky :— *

"On the 28th December the same year (1769) one of the soldiers came and told me that a body of guards, who were conducting some prisoners, had stopped at a place not far distant. As they were in our neighbourhood they wished very much to see people who were unfortunate like themselves; and prevailed on their officer to conduct them to us in the night time. When they arrived I immediately perceived his serene highness, the prince Bishop of Cracow, whose tears prevented him from speaking, but we were not long permitted to see each other. Having separated we pursued our journey, in company, but in different carriages as far as Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia."

But at the same time it may be that the Bishop's patent was enclosed in a letter which the Count states he received from the Bishop of Cracow, by a merchant of Bolsheretzk, on December the 24th, 1770. The Bishop would then, apparently, have been at Kaluga, and the place Kaminietz been an error in transcription.] †

The next authentic information which was published in England respecting the adventurer, Benyowsky, was that contained in the account of Captain Cook's last voyage, written by Captain James King and published in 1784, from which it appeared that the British commander of the expedition had met one Erasim Gregorioff Sin Ismyloff at Oonalaska (one of the Aleutian islands), and learnt from him the following particulars :—‡

"But a voyage, which he himself [Ismyloff] had performed, engaged our attention more than any other. He said that on

* See Rochon, vol. i. p. 204.

† See Rochon, vol. i. p. 205.

‡ "Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere; to determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America, its Distance from Asia, and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe; under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clerke and Gore, in H.M.S. the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, 1776–1780," by Captain James Cook and Captain James King, 3 vols. 4to, fol. Atlas of Plates, 1784; vol. ii. pp. 496, 499.

the 12th May, 1771, he sailed from Bolsheretzk in a Russian vessel, to one of the Kurile Islands, named Mareekan, in the latitude of 47°, where there is a harbour, and a Russian settlement. From this island he proceeded to Japan, where he seems to have made but a short stay. For when the Japanese came to know that he and his companions were Christians, they made signs for them to be gone; but did not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or force. From Japan he got to Canton; and from thence to France in a French ship. From France he travelled to Petersburg, and was afterwards sent out again to Kamtschatka. What became of the vessel in which he first embarked we could not learn; nor what was the principal object of the voyage. His not being able to speak one word of French made this story a little suspicious. He did not even know the name of any one of the most common things that must have been in use every day while he was on board the ship, and in France. And yet he seemed clear as to the times of his arriving at the different places, and of his leaving them, which he put down in writing."

We subsequently learn from the last volume, that Ismyloff, in a letter to the Russian Commandant at Bolsheretzk, had represented the English ships as two small packet-boats, and cautioned him to be on his guard; and that it was not without the exertion of all the commander's authority that the inhabitants were prevented from abandoning the town in consequence of their fears, lest their visitors should prove to be French. "Their extreme apprehensions," wrote Captain King, "were principally occasioned by some circumstances attending an insurrection that had happened at Bolsheretzk a few years before, in which the Commander had lost his life. We were informed that an exiled Polish officer named Beniowski, taking advantage of the confusion into which the town was thrown, had seized upon a galliot, then lying at the entrance of the Bolshoireka, and had forced on board a number of Russian sailors, sufficient to navigate her; that he had put on shore a part of the crew at the Kurile islands; and among the rest, Ismyloff, who, as the reader will recollect, had puzzled us exceedingly at Oonalaska with the history of this transaction; though for want of understanding his language, we could not

then make out all the circumstances attending it; that he passed in sight of Japan; made Luconia; and was there directed how to steer to Canton; that arriving there, he had applied to the French, and had got a passage in one of their India ships to France; and that most of the Russians had likewise returned to Europe in French ships; and had afterwards found their way to Petersburg. We met with three of Beniowski's crew in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul; and from thence we learnt the circumstances of the above story." Captain King adds that the arrival of Benyowsky at Canton was confirmed by the gentlemen of the English factory there, and observes that from Kerguelen's Voyage, it appeared that this extraordinary person had entered the French service and was commander of a new settlement at Madagascar, when that navigator touched there in 1774.*

In the meantime the Count de Benyowsky had arrived at l'Orient from Macao, after touching at the Isle of France and at Fort Dauphin, in July, 1772, and having been joined by his wife from Hungary, instead of proceeding to the court of the Emperor of Germany and appearing before the Holy Apostolical Court to claim his estates, he accepted a commission from the Duke d'Aguillon to proceed to Madagascar and take charge of the French establishments on the east coast which were under the Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, and thither he betook himself in 1773, having raised a small body of recruits to accompany him, about one hundred in number; as far as can be judged, for the Count is excessively vague in some details, whilst profuse in others of little consequence. After three years' service in the Bay of Antongil, on the north-east coast of the great African island, Count de Benyowsky being dissatisfied with the censure conveyed to him by the Commissioners of the Government of the Isles of France and Bourbon, tendered his resignation and returned to France, where he met with a very cold reception and seems to have retired into obscurity. His restless spirit, however, would not suffer him to remain quietly at home, and he formed ambitious schemes of becoming king of Madagascar and establishing an independent dominion in that country. The French had

* See "Relation de deux Voyages," pp. 84, 155.

already discovered his true character, that of a brave but perfectly unscrupulous adventurer, whose word could not be relied on in any way, a boasting braggart, all of whose geese were swans. Wherever his magniloquent reports could be tested it was evident how he exaggerated his facts. In fact he might have been the prototype of the Baron Munchausen himself.*

On Benyowsky's arrival in France, finding that the Duke d'Aguillon and M. de Sartine, of the Colonial Office, would have nothing more to do with him, he attempted to obtain from His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, means to enable him to found his proposed colony in Madagascar; but, as might be expected, his proposals met with a curt refusal. He next tried the Court of St. James's, and for this purpose Copland states that he visited London, where he drew up, in 1783, a project for presentation to the Government; but whether this scheme was ever really brought to official notice or not does not appear. In the meantime he was attempting to raise funds from private sources, and it is alleged that Benjamin Franklin, whose acquaintance he made in Paris, espoused his cause. His plausible manners and romantic adventures soon brought him in contact with Mr. J. Hyacinth de Magellan, a descendant of the discoverer of Magellan's Straits, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, a noted scientist, and who was in correspondence with the greatest savants throughout Europe. The Count induced Mr. de Magellan to advance him considerable sums of money in fitting out a private expedition for Madagascar, and he set out for America with four thousand pounds' worth of cargo. At Baltimore he obtained another vessel, and reached Madagascar in July, 1785. Here he busied himself in erecting some huts for his followers, and sent some of his men to plunder the French stores at Foule Point. In consequence of these acts the Government of the Isle of France sent a man-

* "Münchausen's Wunderbare Reizen zu Wasser und zu Lande," 1839, by Rudolf Erich Raspe. According to Dr. Brewer, this name was said to refer to Hieronymus Karl Friedrich von Münchausen, a German officer in the Russian army, 1720–1797. So this individual would have been a contemporary of Benyowsky.

of-war with some troops on board, who were disembarked, and attacked the Count's small redoubt, on the 23rd of May, 1786. Benyowsky was shot down as a pirate, and poor M. de Magellan was deprived of all his hard-earned savings by thus trusting them to a harebrained braggadocio in such a wild scheme.

Before the Count left England he entrusted his documents to M. de Magellan, who, about the end of 1784, showed to Mr. W. Nicholson, a brother Fellow of the Royal Society, a printed paper in French containing proposals for publishing the memoirs and voyages of the Count de Benyowsky, in three volumes, by subscription; a design which was afterwards given up. In hopes of making something to recoup himself for what he had so unwisely advanced to the Count, Mr. Magellan determined to publish these memoirs, and accordingly disposed of these documents to the publishers; at the same time he engaged to communicate the transactions of the Count from the conclusion of the memoirs to the time of his death.

"An unforeseen event," says Mr. Nicholson, "rendered him incapable of performing this engagement, for soon after Christmas, 1788, he was attacked with a severe illness, which affected his memory so much as to prevent his attending to any literary pursuits, and has continued ever since" [in fact until his death]. Mr. Nicholson was consequently obliged to give the final details from his correspondence.

This brief account serves to show by what means the manuscript came into Mr. Nicholson's hands, and he mentions it in his preface to clear himself of the slightest suspicion of standing before the public in any other character than that which he professes, as editor of the work. He recommended the proprietors to present the original copy and drawings to the British Museum, as a place of deposit peculiarly calculated for the security of the public in such cases. To this they very readily agreed, and the original French manuscript* was accordingly presented. It contains all which is given in the two volumes of the original French edition, except certain drawings, which were lost by a fire that consumed the house of Mr. Heath, the

* Add. MSS. 5359-5362, in MS. Department of British Museum.

engraver. Proofs of these plates happened to be preserved, but the originals and several engraved plates were irrecoverably lost by the same accident, and did not therefore appear in either the French or English editions. They consisted chiefly of views and figures. It was thought also advantageous by Mr. Nicholson "to divide the matter which precedes [*sic*] the journal into chapters, and to add titles, instead of retaining the form of one individual narrative, as it is in the original." Nevertheless this matter was retained as it stood.

"The credibility of any work can be," writes Mr. Nicholson, who seems to have had his misgivings, "tried in two ways only: by internal, or by collateral evidence. It is from the internal evidence, or the mutual coincidence of facts, that we judge of the fidelity of any writer in the first place: if this be wanting, it is an infallible conclusion that the author is either deceived himself, or intends to impose on his readers; but if, on the contrary, this evidence be perfect, it is not so strongly conclusive of truth, as the defect is of falsehood. Internal evidence amounts to a high degree of probability, and is the only dependence we can have when a writer speaks of facts and places not known or visited by others. I have not perceived any defect of this kind in these memoirs; they contain nothing which is at all improbable or contradictory. As far, therefore, as the adventures of the Count de Benyowsky are peculiar to himself, we must depend on his authority. The greater part, however, is capable of being supported by collateral evidence. His share in the troubles in Poland is a recent business: most of the persons he mentions possessed eminent stations in society, and many are still living." [Mr. Nicholson, it must be remembered, was writing in 1789, the year before the work itself appeared in 1790.] "We are not now," proceeds Mr. Nicholson, "in the dark with regard to the land passage across the Russian dominions in Asia, nor the general position and other circumstances relative to a considerable extent of the North-East part of the old Continent. When we proceed to consider the situation of the coasts and islands of the Northern Sea between Asia and America, it is true that great difficulties arise from the ignorance and inaccuracy of the Russian ac-

counts and observations made by unskilful, and perhaps in some instances unprincipled men, without proper instruments, in a tract covered with fogs of such frequency as to be almost perpetual. Here, however, we have the inestimable advantage of recurring to the observations of those judicious navigators, Cook, Clerke, Gore, and King, whose labours have reflected so much honour upon the liberality and scientific zeal of our sovereign. The only part, therefore, of the Count's adventures which cannot readily be compared with the collateral testimony of others, consists in his visitation of the islands of Japan, Liqueio, and Formosa; and the discoveries which he made in the course of a voyage through an unfrequented part of the ocean. On the evidence of these facts, I need not make any observations, because they stand exactly in the same predicament as all other new discoveries do: they must be admitted on the credit of the discoverer, until subsequent researches shall either confirm or disprove them." So far Mr. Nicholson; and it is now proposed to consider the degree of accuracy and credit which attaches to the Count's journal, in view of subsequent investigation and research.

First of all it may be as well to admit that in England, at all events, as well as in France, Germany, and Hungary, the Siberian and Pacific journal of the Count has always been received with confidence,* perhaps *cum grano salis*, but with the usual latitude liberally allowed to travellers from unknown regions. The first edition of 1790, in quarto, from which the text in the following pages is taken, was published in English, under the auspices, as we have seen, of the learned Mr. Nicholson, and the two volumes became apparently very popular. The text of the original French version was next printed in two octavo volumes in the following year, 1791.

* The *Gentleman's Magazine*, however, estimated the Count at his true value:—"Whatever advantage may result from them to navigators, as concurrent evidence of the late discoveries, it must be acknowledged that, independent of the Count's character, as drawn by his own pen, which represents him as little influenced by a regard to truth, or indeed any principle of morality whatever, his accounts savour much of romantic embellishment and exaggeration."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1790, vol. lx., pt. ii., p. 725.

with the preface of Mr. Nicholson translated into French, by the same publishers, Messrs. Robinson, of Paternoster Row, who were presumably also the proprietors, for poor Mr. de Magellan, after the loss of his fortune entrusted to the rascally adventurer, never held up his head again, and died in 1790.

A German translation, by Johann Reinhold Forster, "Des Grafen Moritz August v. Beniowski's *Reisen durch Sibirien und Kamtschatka über Japan und China, nach Europa*," was brought out in Berlin, also in 1790. Two other German editions * by the Brothers Ebeling, published at Hamburg in 1791 and 1797, contain an extract from the diary of Stephanow from Kamchatka to Makao. This Stephanow appears to have been Benyowsky's rival, and suffered much from his more fortunate antagonist. According to Mr. Lewis L. Kropf, also, there is a book in Russian, in the British Museum, by Ivan Ryumin, giving an independent account of Benyowsky's Siberian exploits, edited by Bergkh, who states that the memoirs of Ryumin are to be preferred to the *romance* of Benyowsky. The translation of the title is, "Memoirs of the Adventures of the Scribe [or clerk] Ryumin with Benyowsky," St. Petersburg, 1822, and doubtless there must be a great deal more in Russian about our hero.† (One Ruimin is mentioned by Benyowsky in his memoirs in chapter xvii. *Vide infra*, p. 187.) And we owe to the same authority the knowledge that "in the Austrian Biographical Dictionary, by Wurzbach, is a heap of references to the Count, but all of Benyowskian origin with the exception of one by Brettschneider, who seems to have known Benyowsky personally, and who has, in consequence, *not* a very high opinion of him."

Thunberg mentions the Mémoires of Benyowsky (vol. ii.

* "Neuere Geschichte der See und Land-Reisen.—Dritter Band—Begebenheiten und Reisen des Grafen Moritz August von Benjowsky von ihm selbst beschrieben. Erster Band—Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von C. D. Ebeling, Professor am Gymnasium zu Hamburg, und Dr. J. P. Ebeling, Stadt und Landphysicus in Parchim. Mit des erstern Anmerkungen und Zusaetzen, wie auch einem Auszuge aus Hippolitus Stefanows, Russisch-geschriebenem Tagebuche uber seine Reise von Kamtschatka nach Makao. Hamburg, 1791, dei Benjamin Gottlob Hoffmann."

† In the *St. Petersburgische Zeitschrift*, vol. i., 1822, is an article on Ryumin's Memoirs, entitled "Benyowsky's Flight from Kamchatka."

p. 127) as "un ouvrage qui est entre les mains de tous les amateurs de ce genre de littérature,* which seems to imply that it was a popular work in his estimation. He notices that Benyowsky spoke favourably of the good faith, generosity, and hospitality of the Japanese nation to foreigners; and speaks of him as one of the small number of travellers who have visited that country of Japan.

The most important, however, of all the European versions of the travels of Benyowsky is that lately published by the great novelist, the giant of Hungarian literature, Maurus Jókai, who has taken a great deal of trouble to ascertain the details regarding the youth and family relations of that remarkable adventurer, whose true name, according to Hungarian orthography, should be spelt *Benyovszky*,† or at full length Gróf Benyovszky Móricz, the name being pronounced, according to Mr. Lewis L. Kropf, of the Hungarian Historical Society, like Bè-gnove-ski, in French accents. Jókai's work has already attained four volumes, and a fifth is announced to appear before long.‡

A pamphlet also appeared last year by Dr. John Jankó, jun., a well-known Hungarian geographer, on the same subject, investigating Benyowsky's journey from Kamchatka to Macao. He tries to identify the localities and to explain away the difficulties as to wrong bearings, &c.

Of Jókai's version the historical value seems unimportant; as a great writer of fiction, he has regarded his subject in a romantic and picturesque light, and his book is crammed with

* "Les Mémoires et Voyages de Maurice Auguste Comte de Benyowsky; Magnat des Royaumes d'Hongrie et de Pologne un des Chefs de la Confédération de Pologne, &c. Ecrits par Lui-même, et publiés d'après le Manuscrit Original, en deux tomes. À Londres, chez G. G. J. and J. Robinson, dans Paternoster Row, MDCCXC."

† "*Benyovszky.* (BĒ-NYŌV-SKY.) In Hungarian 'ny,' is a compound consonant, and is equivalent to the French 'gn,' or Spanish 'ñ.' 'S' in Hungarian=English 'sh,' and, therefore, a Z is appended to make 'S' into 'SZ'=English 'S.' 'W.' is old Hungarian for 'V.' "—*Lewis L. Kropf.*

‡ Gróf Benyovszky Móricz. Életrajza, Sajat Emlékiratai és Útleírásai nyomán. Képekkel, Térképekkel, Autographokkal Stb. Forditotta Jókai Mór (*Budapest*, 1888, Kiadja Ráth Mór).

a quantity of irrelevant matter. Dr. Jankó, on the other hand, has spared no pains to investigate a mass of material extant in documents in all languages. It is unfortunate for the English reading public that his forthcoming great work will be in the Hungarian language.

It is somewhat remarkable that an admiring appreciation of the adventurous Count led to the banishment of the well-known Kotzebue, who wrote a drama entitled "Graf von Benyowsky" about the year 1790, presumably immediately after the appearance of the German edition of his life. This play was, as Kotzebue himself says, "received in a very flattering manner by the public, and, as was consequently to be expected, with scarcely less contumely by the critics." In the year 1800, this celebrated dramatist, Augustus von Kotzebue, of Weimar, who was married to a Russian lady, applied to the Emperor Paul for permission to visit Russia. Passports and letters of invitation were forwarded by the Emperor Paul to the distinguished author, who, however, was arrested as soon as he had crossed the frontier, and sent off without explanation to Tobolsk. The true reason of this iniquitous exile was never divulged, but the following is the only cause that could suggest itself to Kotzebue.

"Endeavouring to guess at the real motives of my arrest, I had recollected that ten years ago, while I was printing 'Count Benyowsky,' the late Empress (Catharine II.) wrote to Revel, to the Governor of that place, and charged him to ask me, without mentioning that it was her Majesty's order, what view I had had in writing that play. I naturally replied that the history of Count Benyowsky had struck me as a fit subject for the drama, and that it had been adopted, before I attempted it, by M. Vulpius. Nothing more was said on the subject; that great princess, as it may easily be imagined, thought no more of the matter.

"The Emperor (Paul), thought I, offended at the subject of this piece, is perhaps determined to inflict the same kind of punishment on me as I have described in the case of the exile. Should it be so, I shall be sent to Kamtschatka, which lies six thousand versts from Irkutzk." *

* See "The Most Remarkable Year in the Life of Augustus von Kotzebue,

Kotzebue was released by the impulsive Paul soon afterwards and richly compensated for his undeserved sufferings, being granted a large estate and appointed director of the German theatre at St. Petersburg. The Emperor Paul was shortly after murdered by his own courtiers, when the Emperor Alexander I. continued his patronage of Von Kotzebue.

Mr. Nicholson speaks of the Count de Benyowsky's character in the following eulogistic terms, with which we do not suppose that many will now be found to concur, in spite of the enthusiastic support afforded to the Count's reputation by the great national writer Maurus Jókai :—

"A man of invincible spirit, inured to hardships, and habituated to face danger and every extremity with a most uncommon degree of firmness. To these extraordinary powers, he added an intimate and almost intuitive knowledge of the human mind. By nature, education, and habit, he was formed to persuade, command, and to coerce; and his destiny gave him ample occasion to exercise these talents. Of this singular character many and various have been the opinions. Those whose interests led them to oppose him have spared no accusations against him; and their accusations are of the strongest and even the most horrid nature. His enemies have represented him as the unfeeling tyrant, and the unprincipled robber;—yet while he lived he never was without enthusiastic admirers and warm friends who readily exerted themselves against every risque and every calumny to serve him. If it were expected that I should give my opinion, I would declare that I have not yet seen anything against him which will not bear two interpretations; or which has not been written by men who contradict each other, and had an interest in traducing him. For these reasons why, in the multifarious correspondence which now lies before me, I have passed over the

containing an Account of his Exile into Siberia, and of the other Extraordinary Events which happened to him in Russia," written by himself. Translated by Rev. B. Beresford (1806), vol. i. pp. 164–165.

This play by Kotzebue has been translated into English by the Rev. W. Reader, published by W. J. & J. Richardson, London, 1798; and again by Benjamin Thompson in the "German Theatre," vol. ii., published by Vernon and Hood in 1801.

recriminations in silence. I have collected only such facts as appear indubitable, and have suppressed all names, because the correspondence, on account of the present infirm situation of the gentleman [M. de Magellan] to whom it of right belongs, has passed into my hands, without any other restriction but such as the sentiments of every man of principle and delicacy must inspire." In other words, Mr. Nicholson confesses to having suppressed such portions of Benyowsky as appeared to him dubitable, and also all such correspondence which threw any doubt on the veracity of the Count.

It is plain, therefore, that Benyowsky's story was viewed with suspicion, but that Mr. Nicholson judiciously refrained from publishing anything but the adventurer's own story. It is possible that some day in the archives of the Netherlands Trading Company, which may have been preserved in the old factory of Desima at Nagasaki (to which limits the Dutch were confined ever since their transfer from Hirado after the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1640), records will be found which may throw light on the visit of Count de Benyowsky to Japan. Sufficient grounds have been shown above, however, which go far towards proving (negative evidence is ever unsatisfactory), that the voyage of the *Peter and Paul* through Behring's Straits and Sea to Kadiak, the Aleutian Isles and the fabulous Island of Liquor, together with the campaign * in northern Formosa, and the fabricated treaty with the king of that country, are grossly exaggerated, and cunningly devised to deceive ignorant people in Europe with intent to draw money from their pockets for the benefit of the charlatan and braggart, the *soi-disant* councillor of Prince Albert, Duke of Saxony.

Mr. Nicholson has endeavoured to establish the authenticity of the Count's memoirs and journal (for the two accounts cannot be separated), and finally, in summing up the character of his hero, declares that he had "not yet seen anything *against* him which will not bear *two interpretations*, or which has not been written by men who contradict each other, and had an interest in traducing him." Yet Mr. Nicholson "does

* According to Ryumin's account, the so-called campaign in Formosa was a very small affair. In the first attempt to land Panoff, the murderer of Niloff, was among the slain.

not pretend that there are no other causes of uncertainty in the Count's journal," but he disclaimed any intention of entering into a minute disquisition upon it. Neither is it the intention of the present editor to minutely investigate each step of the adventurer's voyage. He will content himself with pointing out to the reader and student certain discrepancies which are apparently wilful misstatements on the part of the Hungarian author as regards himself and his voyages, and on conviction of general untruthfulness, his narrative may then be studied with advantage as a highly coloured and exaggerated recital of adventures founded on a substratum of mingled fact and fiction.

The Memoirs open with a lie. The first paragraph states that the author was born at Verbowa in the year 1741. It has been established by the parish registers still existing at Verbó, that he was born in the year 1746 *; *i.e.*, five years later than his autobiographical memoirs recorded with his own pen. As he states that he was received into the Siebenschien regiment as a lieutenant at fourteen years of age, he must have entered the army in 1760. Yet he affirms that he was present at the battles of Lobositz, in 1756, of Prague, in 1757, of Donstadt, in 1758, when he must have been of the tender ages ten, eleven, and twelve years. Now it is well known that boys were nominally made regimental officers at very early ages, and it is not absolutely impossible that the boy, Benyowsky, may have been with the troops in the campaign of the Seven Years' war with his father; but subsequently we find our hero claiming that he had been a *colonel* in the Imperial army, and in an official letter to the Governor of the Isle of France, he states,†

* In Sicily, at Palermo, in 1743, between the false and the true dates, 1741–46, to which the birth of Benyowsky has been attributed, there was born one who Carlyle declares was "the most perfect scoundrel that in these latter ages has marked the world's history"; . . . "really a liar of the first magnitude, thorough-paced in all provinces of lying, what one may call the king of liars," viz., Count Alessandro di Cagliostro, a worthy contemporary of the Count de Benyowsky, the latter of whom spent his whole life in plastering together the true and the false, and therefrom manufacturing the plausible, and therefore from Carlyle's point of view only your half-knave, than whom nothing is more wholly despicable, detestable, and forgetable.

† "Voyages à Madagascar, à Maroc, et aux Indes Orientales," par Alexis Rochon, vol. i. p. 198.

"I served in *quality of general* in the armies of the Empress our Sovereign" [*i.e.*, Maria Theresa]. Is it not evident that these boastful utterances were gross exaggerations of fact, even had he been present as a boy at these battles? This wilful antedating the year of his birth is sufficient to invalidate the authenticity of all the succeeding pages in his biography. Without further investigating his exploits during the Seven Years' war, it is sufficient to point out that, by his own admission, he was convicted at the Court of Vienna as a rebel and disturber of the public peace, and that a decree was issued against him by which he was deprived of his property and banished from Hungary. He had already *quitted* the Imperial service (no date given), presumably about 1759, when he was *thirteen* years old, although he tells us he did not *enter* the service until he was fourteen years of age! At this period (say two years subsequently, for as we already noticed nearly all really important dates are suppressed), having established his estate in Lithuania (and his castles in Spain?) in proper hands, he repaired to Dantzig, and made several voyages to Hamburg, and from thence to Amsterdam and to Plymouth, till 1767, in what capacity he does not say, but he afterwards alludes to having been in the service of the States of Malta.* He was now twenty-one years of age. At this mature age he was summoned to join the Confederacy of Poland, and got married to one of the three daughters of a Mr. Hensky of the Zips. He left his wife at her father's house clandestinely, and was immediately appointed *Colonel-General, Commander of Cavalry, and Quarter-Master-General, &c. &c.* After his vast experience of the campaigns in the Seven Years' war, this youth of twenty-two years was put in a position over the heads of many veterans, in a Confederacy where the Polish chiefs were jealous of rivalry, and directly promoted to be Muster-Master General. It is needless to follow this master of the art of war through all his exploits, it is sufficient to say that it was Benyowsky who did everything, and surpassed everybody, like Thackeray's inimitable "Major Goliah O'Grady Gahagan, H.E.I.C.S." with his "tremendous adventures."

In 1769 after performing prodigies of valour, our Bombastes

* *Vide supra.* p. 15.

was captured by the Russians and interned at Kazan, where he was allowed to live in the town, presumably on parole. Of course he conspired against the Government, and, equally of course, was betrayed, escaping nevertheless to St. Petersburg. Here he was recaptured, and very naturally despatched to Siberia as a very dangerous character. One of the other prisoners sent into Siberia with him was Hippolite Stephanow, Captain of Infantry, whose recital of Benyowsky's Siberian adventures indicate tolerably well what a liar the Count was. Such is a brief sketch of the career of the Polish-Hungarian impostor up to January, 1770, at which date his detailed journal commences.

In reference to his marriage it is remarkable that he never communicated this event to his relations, although it may be supposed that he would have been proud of his alliance with the daughter of "a gentleman of distinction." It was not for five years subsequently, on his return to France, that he wrote to his brother Emanuel informing him that he had been married in 1768, and had a child, named Samuel, who had just died, aged four years.*

Whilst at St. Petersburg we are told that Count Panin promised him his liberty if he would sign an obligation never to serve against Russia.—*Vide* Memoir. His account to Des Roches, in Mauritius, was that when shut up in the prison of Fortality he was brought before Orloff and Czernichew, who promised a pardon if he would discover the secrets with which he had been entrusted, and he signed a paper. Here are the two papers, at least the preamble:—

Memoir.	Letter to Des Roches.
I, the undersigned, do acknowledge that having been seized in my flight from Cazan, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias having pardoned me by her natural clemency . . . &c.	I, the undersigned, acknowledge that I not only wished to break my chains, but that I committed an assassination, and have been guilty of treason against her Imperial Majesty . . . &c.
St. Petersburg, Nov. 22, 1769.	Petersburg, Nov. 22, 1769.

* Dilectissime Frater. . . . Fortasse adhuc ignoras quod ego uxoratus sim: ita dilectissimam conthoralem habeo, quæ te non noscens licet diligit. Filius meus quatuor annorum ætatis mortuus est, baptisatus Samuel.

One of those people who appear to have doubted the veracity of Benyowsky was Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., the President of the Royal Society, who communicated to Mr. Nicholson, *after* the latter had written his eulogium and preface, certain documents which are inserted as a postscript to the preface with a few remarks by the translator. Sir Joseph does not seem to have made any remarks himself; at any rate they were suppressed if there were any; he probably thought that they needed no comment.

The first of these documents is the French extract from a letter of Bishop le Bon. The second is the account of the arrival of the small vessel, "of about eighty tons"—taken from the Count's own words by Mr. Barlow, and the third is the most important of all, viz., the original document signed by Baron Benyowsky at Canton in September, 1771, of which the document published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* was evidently the translation. This document is the real key to the truth of Benyowsky's contested voyage. It gives a plain brief account of his route, which, moreover, tallies with the story of Ismailoff and the narrative of Ryumin the scribe. It, moreover, furnishes a clue to the identification of the Japanese ports touched at.

The document is given in the French original only by Mr. Nicholson, who remarks that—"This is doubtless the original from which the paper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* [given above] was translated. As the Count's intention, certainly, was not that of conveying information but of misleading the inquirers at Canton, I [Mr. Nicholson] have not thought it necessary either to attempt an emendation of this imperfect copy or to attempt any translation" (*Op. cit.*, p. xxix.).

Le Narré du Baron de Benyowsky d'un Voyage fait de Kamchatka à Macao.

Devenu en Prison, 1769 Anné.

Amenez en exile avec Mess. Princés, P. Koltik, Eveque de Cracovia P. Kanguszko, P. Rzsevuizky, P. Paez, Eveque de Kiove. A Kamschatka, sous 63 Degree de la Latitude du Nord. 175 Longitude, 1771 L'Anné.

"Dans le mois Mai, sortis sur le galliotte St. Pierre, passer jusqu'à 238 degree de la Longitude à 57 Latitude, d'ou, naviger à passer l'Isle Mariane par la grande tempete, et vents forts devenu à Japon, ou, ton de L'Androis [*dans l'endroit*] du Port Namqu, mil pieds à la Texe [mit pied à terre], de là venu à l'Isles Touza et Bonzo, de là jusqu'à Nangeaski, d'où aprez avoir peu de Noires [*peur des Noirs ?*] sortis et passer par les isles *Amuy*,* jusqu'à Formosa et l'Isle Baschet † [Bashi] enfin prit le cours droitment, à Makao, ou je suis arrive dans le mois Septembre 1771 L'Année," &c.

This document, which may be accounted as authenticated by officials at Macao, is corroborated by another longer document, also official, which was communicated to M. des Roches, Governor of Mauritius, and M. Pierre Poivre his Intendant. This is quoted at length by a well-known savant, M. Alexis Rochon, the astronomer, whose word is only called in question by those who may be called believers in the Benyowsky imposture. That portion of the letter which refers to his voyage may be quoted now at length. Hearing that a troop of Russian soldiers were preparing to revolt in order to release the Polish Prince Bishop of Cracow, and others, he proceeds:—

"I immediately wrote to Major Wynblath to inform him what he should do to procure us our liberty also. For my part, I rendered myself the friend of the officer Guresinim,‡ who never quitted me; and he not only facilitated the means of my escaping, but even opened his purse to me.

"Our affairs were in this situation when we were joined by two exiled Russian officers,§ who told me that near us there was a prisoner, closely guarded, who was supposed to be a

* Amoy Island, on which the well-known city of Amoy stands.

† The Batan or Bashee Islands, a group south of Formosa, so called by Dampier from the name of an intoxicating liquor much used by the natives.

‡ Andrew Gurcinin, Chamberlain of the Empress Elizabeth, an exile, v. *infra*, pp. 135, 187.

§ Gregory Lobczow, Colonel of Infantry, and Nicholas Srebernikow, Captain of a regiment of guards.

person of great distinction,* and who had been kept in irons seven years. No person could give any satisfactory account of him; we were only told that he was ten or eleven years [in exile?] and that he was entrusted to the care of an old officer, who wished very much for his deliverance.

"I conceived then a project of gaining the friendship of this officer, who willingly listened to my proposals. He revealed to me the name of the prisoner, who was indeed of an illustrious birth, and we concerted together a plan for his † escape, taking each of us an oath that we would exert ourselves to the utmost to make it succeed." "It was on the 25th of May that, with the assistance of God, we intended to procure our liberty at the price of our blood. As I was the only person ‡ who understood how to work a ship, I was appointed the chief of the enterprise. The conspiracy, however, being discovered on the 21st of April, the Governor ordered me to be carried away in the night, for the second time,§ with an intention of conveying me to some other place. My brethren in distress, frightened at this blow, came to me on the 26th, and begged me to relieve them. The affair was easy. The lieutenant,‖ who was on guard over me, having caused arms to be carried privately to his habitation, supplied me and all my companions, at the head of whom I took possession of the fort on the night of the 27th. In this action the Governor and some others were killed in the commencement of the attack, while a few of my people only were slightly wounded.

"Next morning, the soldiers and Cossacks ¶ wished to enter sword in hand into the town of Bolsao, the inhabitants of which, terrified after the second and third discharge of our

* Heraclius Prince Zadskoy, exiled eighteen years before. It may mean that he had been exiled when only ten or eleven years of age, v. *infra*, pp. 135, 188.

† It is noticeable that the escape of this prince is not again alluded to either in this document or in his subsequent expanded narrative.

‡ Yet Csurin, the Captain of the ship, and his crew, with pilots and other seamen, were among his associates.

§ The *first* time must refer to his being carried away from St. Petersburg or Kasan?

‖ Mr. Narin, the lieutenant of the garrison.

¶ Kolossow was hettman of the Cossacks.

musketry, surrendered on the 29th of April. I entered triumphantly into the town of Kamschatka, and no one appeared to oppose me. I immediately sent people to seize the vessels which were in the harbour, and went myself with some others to Zamicka, where I arrested the Secretary of the Senate, who had arrived from Petersburg, and obliged him to deliver up all the letters of the chancery. After taking everything that belonged to me and two hundred inhabitants of Kamschatka, I went down to the harbour, where I seized on three ships, chose for myself the strongest, and left the rest dismasted.

"Having freed this vessel, which was called the *St. Peter*, from the ice, I embarked with everything necessary, and set sail on the 12th of May, 1771. I had sixty-seven * persons with me on board, viz., eight officers, eight married women, and a young woman known by the title of the Princess; the rest consisted of the crew. In this manner I departed from Kamchatka, and passing the latitude of 52°, entered the channel of the Kurile Isles, commonly called *Jedso*.† Pursuing my course towards the north-east, I landed on the island of Beringhiana, situated to the east, under the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, and the ninth meridian from the part which I had left. Here I found M. Ochotyn with eighty men. This Polish officer, according to what he related, had saved himself in the same manner as I, and had established himself with his crew in those American islands called Aleuthes. He had formed an alliance with the inhabitants of the country, and his people had contracted marriages amongst them. In this island I left three of my men, and he gave me letters to show wherever I might judge if necessary to do so.

"On the 26th of May, steering away a considerable distance from that island, I found the sea covered with ice, which obliged me on the 2nd of June to land at the island of Aladar,‡

* In narrative ninety-six.

† In his detailed account of the Kurile Islands Benyowsky states that the islands of Jedzo are *not* included. He includes among the islands of Jedzo Kawith Idzon, Csulgan Idzon, Maānas Idzon, Kunaschir Idzon, Fiassi Kamoni Idzon, and Matzumay.

‡ In his journal [*vide infra*] Benyowsky states he discovered an island

situated under the sixty-first degree of latitude, and the twenty-second meridian from Kamschatka. On the 9th of June I again put to sea, and directing my route towards the south-east, fell in, according to my reckoning, with the point of the American * continent under the sixtieth degree of latitude, and the twenty-sixth meridian from Kamschatka. Sailing then towards the fifty-first degree of latitude, on account of the violence of the wind, I afterwards changed my course towards the south-west, and on the 20th of June arrived at an island known to the Russians by the name of *Urum-Sir*,† or the island of *Xti*, situated under the latitude of 53° 45′, and distant 15° 58′ of longitude from Kamschatka. Here I formed a friendship with the Americans, which induced me to remain some days amongst them; but on the 27th of June I set sail, steering south-west, and kept at sea till the 30th, when I discovered, in the latitude of 46° 6′, and ten degrees of longitude from Kamchatka, a land inhabited likewise by Russians; but I could not go on shore on account of contrary winds, which, notwithstanding all my efforts, carried me to a great distance from it. Having, therefore, formed a design of resuming my ancient ‡ route, after suffering a long time from the inconstancy of the winds, and finding that our water was exhausted, so that we were obliged to drink sea-water, rendered potable with flour and whale oil, I landed, on the 15th of July, on an island which lies in the latitude of 32° 45′, and in longitude 334° 45′ from Kamschatka. This island was inhabited, and the beauty of its situation, added to other attractions, induced me to give it the name of *Liquoris*.§ I quitted it on

named Aladar on June 9th, near Bay of Anadir. Aladar should doubtless read Anadir.

* Probably the Pribiloff Islands, according to his observations.

† The account given of Urumusir tallies with the description of Unalashka, given by Solovieff, and where Levasheff, of Krenitzin's Expedition, was anchored in 1768.

‡ What was his ancient route? It must have been that direct from Bolsheretsk to the Philippines *viâ* Japan.

§ In his former statement, made at Canton, Benyowsky stated that he had landed at Bashee Island, an island so named by Dampier after the intoxicating liquor used by the inhabitants. This perhaps may have suggested the name to the fertile imagination of the Count.

the 22nd, and directing my course westward, arrived, on the 28th, at *Kilingur*,* a Japanese port, situated in latitude 34° and longitude 343° from Kamschatka. This port is close to a town and citadel, where we were kindly received by the inhabitants, who gave us a supply of provisions. On the 1st of August I quitted this port, and on the 3rd landed at *Meaco*,† where I was insulted by the Japanese, whom I found very untractable. Desirous of proceeding thence to the Philippines, I continued my route towards the south, and coasting along some other islands for several days, landed in the isle of *Usona*, in latitude 27° 28′, and longitude 335°.

"Being perfectly well received by the people of this island, I spent some days amongst them; they supplied me with abundance of provisions, and after a mutual treaty I sailed for the island of *Formosa*. Having entered a port in latitude 23° 15′, and longitude 223°,‡ I found myself attacked by the inhabitants, who killed three of my men. After avenging their death, the winds, always contrary, obliged me to make for the continent of China, coasting along some small islands known under the name of *Piscatoria;* § and want of water compelled me to enter by open force into *Tanasoa*,‖ and to attack the Chinese, who endeavoured to prevent me from procuring a supply. I then sailed for *Macao*, a city belonging to her most faithful majesty, where I arrived on the 22nd of September, 1771.

"In this place I was received with every mark of friendship by the Sieur Salema de Saldanha, the Governor, and obtained permission for me and my crew to land; but we left our arms in the ship, in order that we might excite no suspicion.

* Kilingur, at the head of the Gulf of Usilpatchar. By some supposed to be Yeddo (modern Tokio), possibly the Suranga of Harris' Voyage.

† There is a group of islets called Meiaco Sima, between Formosa and Japan. ‡ Probably Black Rock Bay. Lat. 23° 6′ 30″.

§ The Pescadores, or Ponghu Archipelago, between Formosa and Swatau on the China coast.

‖ This attack on Tanasoa is wholly at variance with Benyowsky's subsequently expanded account. In this official document he states that he attacked the Chinese at Tanasoa, which can only be Tam-suy, the Chinese settlement in Formosa. The only place at all like it on the Chinese coast would be Namoa Island, near Swatow.

"Here I learnt that there was a league of friendship between our two sovereigns; and being desirous of keeping a secret in which they were interested, I asked permission to hoist the flag of his most Christian Majesty, which I obtained.

"What can I say more to your Excellency that your own people are not able to inform you of? Having transported my baggage to the house of M. de Robien, the President of the Council, now in China, I embarked on the 17th of January, with my crew, in two trading vessels, and arrived safe and sound in the Isle of France, where I have drawn up the present relation; I beg, therefore, that you would be pleased to order me a speedy passage to Europe."

This document was dated March 21, 1772, and signed by Baron Maurice Augustus d' Aladar de Benyowsky.

The Abbé Alexis Rochon, who was present at Port Louis when Benyowsky arrived, remarks on the above:—

"One cannot help feeling some emotion of surprise on seeing that Benyowsky has omitted everything that might have tended to direct navigators in the route from Kamschatka to China, by the way of Japan. Nothing is necessary but the elements of the nautical science to enable one to remark soundings and anchorage; to point out the strength and direction of the winds; to determine the variations of the needle; to fix the situation of the principal capes and banks; and in short to give, if not the longitude, at least the latitude of the most remarkable places. The journal of the pilot entrusted with the care of the ship ought certainly to have informed him respecting these particulars. A traveller of abilities, or only animated with a desire of rendering himself useful, when he visited distant countries, and traversed passages little frequented by European ships, would not have neglected details indispensably necessary to the safety and improvement of navigation. Benyowsky, however, boasted of the extent of his knowledge, and of having discovered a new route for going from Kamschatka to China; but the journal of his voyage, while it proves that he was ignorant of even the most common

and technical terms used in navigation, leaves no document or certain traces of the course which he says he pursued.

"This accusation is not made without sufficient reason. I appeal for the justness of it to all those who, like me, saw him arrive from Canton at the Isle of France. They will all certify that, with a view to render the account of his adventures more romantic, he publicly declared that, in a small vessel badly equipped, and almost destitute of provisions, or rather having nothing to subsist on but dried fish, he quitted, on his departure from Kamschatka, the Asiatic coast in order to go to America. Over and above this intrepid adventurer was not afraid to affirm before experienced seamen that he went on shore on some unknown land [*Urumsir*], situated to the north of California. This strange assertion gives rise to a multitude of objections. The distressed situation of his ship rendered his narration very improbable; besides, the short journal which he had the imprudence to publish [see above] made no mention of that land situated to the north of California, and much less of its productions. On the last article, above all, Benyowsky appeared to be exceedingly embarrassed; and he could find no means of delivering himself from importunate questions but by saying that he reserved for his court alone the honour of being made acquainted with the particulars of his important discoveries.

"This evasion was not attended with success. A general map of the world was presented to him, and he was desired to trace out the course of his voyage, after being assured that such a slight sketch could not expose him; but Benyowsky refused. M. Poivre, then Intendant of the Isle of France, was extremely glad that these efforts were made in his presence to detect the impudent imposture of this stranger. That enlightened administrator prudently avoided taking any part in them; but he made use of this close attack to inspire M. de Boynes with a just and salutary suspicion of the pretended discoveries of Benyowsky. If, as we shall see hereafter, this information did not produce the intended effect, it would certainly be highly illiberal to throw out even the slightest reproaches against him on that account.

"However, the relation given by Benyowsky of his romantic

adventures was sufficient to ruin, in the opinion of the public, this man, who was not ashamed to produce before a generous people a scandalous declaration, in which he owned himself guilty of an execrable crime. This stranger, said they, is not a madman, and yet he wishes to persuade us that force and rigorous means were used to deprive him of his innocence and to cause him to sign a deed [see p. 32] which, while it disgraces and debases him, renders him odious and suspected. What expression in our language is strong enough to characterise the unparalleled impudence of this stranger, who thus allowed himself to spread an accusation more degrading to himself than to his enemies? Is there a country in the world where the open acknowledgment of an assassination is the means of recovering liberty? What could have been the end of this scandalous declaration? Is it not impossible to discover the motive of it? Whilst I express my sentiments in this manner, I am only the faithful interpreter of that universal sentiment of indignation with which the people of the Isle of France were inspired when they read Benyowsky's improbable relation. It was an object of censure to every person of sense; and if I have transcribed it literally, it was merely because I thought it proper that the moral character of this adventurer should be known. I hope I shall be pardoned for so often bestowing upon him that degrading appellation. Benyowsky is not condemned by his writings alone; there are still greater charges against him.

"Escaped from the prisons of Kamschatka, Benyowsky proceeded to China with twenty or thirty prisoners. Scarcely had this stranger arrived at Canton (*i.e.* Macao) when he found among the French there some individuals who were sensibly affected by his misfortunes, and he obtained from the factors and officers of the (French) East-India Company considerable assistance for himself, as well as for the people whom he pretended to have under his command. They even did more for him: they engaged M. de St. Hylaire to take him on board his ships (the *Dauphin* and the *Laverdi*) and to convey him with all his suite to the Isle of France. M. de St. Hylaire, having a rich cargo under his care belonging to private merchants, made at first some hesitation; he was afraid of

admitting into his ships such a number of foreigners who had broke from the prisons of Kamschatka; but compassion got the better of every other sensation. When he had, however, proceeded to sea, his uneasiness began to be revived with more strength; and very justly, for these people had given him some cause to repent of his imprudent generosity. These adventurers, at the time when they embarked, had carefully concealed their arms. M. de St. Hylaire, therefore, when informed of this deception, was exceedingly sorry to have men in his ship who were perhaps in a situation of giving laws to him instead of receiving them. Thirty or forty prisoners, armed in a formidable manner, were certainly sufficient to alarm him respecting the fate of his valuable cargo. In so delicate and difficult a situation what course could he pursue? Ought he to have made use of his authority to disarm these foreigners? But his ship was weak and badly equipped. Ought he in such a case to have risked the property of his employers, and to have exposed his life and his liberty against robust, resolute, and enterprising men, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose? The slightest pretence might have given rise to a quarrel, and produced an insurrection which it was prudent to avoid. M. de St. Hylaire weighed all these matters in his mind, like a wise man, and foreseeing his danger, resolved, after mature deliberation, to watch privately all the motions of his passengers. He even did more; he pretended to pay great honour and to show much deference and respect to Count Benyowsky. This adventurer then acted the man of importance; exhausted all the resources of the most impudent imposture to give himself a still greater air of consequence; and by the most ridiculous bravadoes imposed even on his companions in misfortune. He openly declared himself to be their chief: his orders were punctually executed; he ever afterwards commanded as a master, and they behaved to him with the obsequiousness of slaves. None but those who were gentlemen durst speak to him. This is a certain fact. I was told of it by M. de St. Hylaire and his officers.

"The honours so prudently paid to Benyowsky, while they flattered his pride, preserved tranquillity and good order in the ship. Subordination, so necessary for the safety of navigators,

was not interrupted by this dangerous man; and at length, after a short and favourable passage, they arrived at the Isle of France. Much praise is certainly due to the wise and cautious conduct of M. de St. Hylaire; for it evidently appears that he extricated himself with great ability from a very difficult and dangerous situation.

"Benyowsky, surrounded by a numerous suite, repaired immediately on his landing to the Governor of the colony. He no longer appeared as an unfortunate prisoner, but as the general of an army, decorated with several insignia, and followed by an aide-de-camp, whose rich uniforms * announced an officer of superior distinction. What an astonishing metamorphosis, or, rather, what a ridiculous farce! Had I not been an eye-witness of it I should scarcely have ventured to relate it. When the real history of these adventurers was known at the Isle of France, the general and his brilliant attendants became a subject of laughter to every sensible man in the colony. Seamen are seldom enthusiasts. Such people require coolness to subdue the elements, and knowledge to conduct, from one extremity of the earth to the other, those large floating castles which secure and protect the commerce of polished nations. The lives of sailors and the safety of a ship or squadron, ought not to be entrusted to men too susceptible of passion, or whose imaginations being lively and irregular are apt to be hurried into fits of delirium. Men of this kind, who are fond of, and admire, whatever is fabulous or romantic, are common only among idle and frivolous nations, or in large capitals, where their fatal influence occasions still greater disorders than that of profligates. Such enthusiastic characters are rare in the colonies, and are always destitute of credit and authority. Benyowsky felt the truth of this assertion in all its bitterness. He saw at the same time of how much importance it was to him to immediately quit a country where his adventures and travels excited no enthusiasm. The more he prolonged his stay the less respect was

* As Benyowsky had left Russia dressed as a convict, he could only have obtained the rich uniforms from the plunder at Bolsheretsk, and it seems uncommonly likely that he actually wore the uniform of the unfortunate Russian Governor whom he and his associates murdered.

paid to him. On his departure for France he threw aside the name of Baron d'Aladar, under which he had hitherto appeared, and assumed that of Count de Benyowsky; but what is highly worthy of remark is that at this epoch he publicly announced that he was going to solicit in France the general government of the island of Madagascar."

With regard to Benyowsky's erratic voyage, Mr. Nicholson writes:—

"I must observe, therefore, that Ismyloff, who is not represented in any very favourable light by the Count in his Memoirs, and was, guilty of a trick, which seems in some respect to degrade him, by writing an unfriendly and false letter to be carried by the English navigators to the Commander at Bolsheretzk, was probably disposed to conceal some part of the knowledge he possessed, and does not appear incapable of perverting such facts; as his own views, whatever they were, might require to be falsified; that it is by no means probable that the Count, at the head of a set of daring men over whom he had no well-supported authority, should touch at the Kuriles Islands, for the reason he himself mentions, namely, the probability that they should change their minds and force him to return to Kamchatka; but on the contrary, that he should wish to render their return impracticable by standing for the Aleutian Islands or American shore, in the first place, as being more remote; and on the other hand the disposition of his crew to proceed to the northward might have been partly grounded on their fears of quitting the peninsula of Kamchatka. Again, it does not appear how four months could be employed in passing simply to Marikan, touching at Japan, and making Luconia in his way to Macao, even supposing he had sailed so far out of his way as to that Spanish settlement. On these accounts then, I think that Ismyloff's information, with that of the three Russians at Kamchatka, considered under all the disadvantages of a want of language for mutual intelligence—which Captain Cook complains of—are really valid, so far only as to prove that the Count Benyowsky did really exert his military abilities at Kamchatka in a serious insurrection, in which the Governor lost his life; that the inhabitants of Bolsheretzk were so greatly affected and the impression of

their fears was so strong and permanent, as to urge them to think of abandoning their habitations after an interval of eight whole years—an impression which the threat of burning their women and children in the church may readily account for; that a very considerable time having elapsed between his departure, which is correctly given by Ismyloff, and his arrival in China, which is an object of no question, he could not have subsisted without putting in somewhere: and that after leaving the Aleutian Islands, there are no places into which choice or necessity could more immediately have driven him than the islands of Japan, Ligueio (Liu-Kiu) and Formosa. In a word, the collateral evidence appears clear and positive where it supports the credibility of the Count's narrative, but confused and uncertain in the particulars wherein it differs from him; and the whole is of such a nature as not to be put into competition with an authentic journal from the hands of the author.

"Without entering into any comparison of the voyages of the Count Benyowsky with those of others who have navigated the Northern seas, I shall confine my remarks to such parts of his journal as will admit of elucidation from the voyages of our illustrious countrymen. But in the first place it must be premised that the Count's skill in navigation, whatever eminence it might have procured him in Kamchatka ('As I was the only person who understood how to work a ship'—*vide supra.* p. 35), appears to have been very moderate. In his journal we find the latitude, longitude, wind, current and course. He never distinguished the latitude by account from that by observation. I suppose, however, that he may have had one of the old quadrants of Davis, or perhaps a forestaff; but he certainly did not possess one of Hadley's.* His latitudes, in general, therefore, may be supposed to be within half or perhaps a quarter of a degree of the truth. I have not paid any attention to the winds and course made good, but apprehend that his longitudes must be subject not only to all the usual errors of the dead-reckoning, but likewise to others arising

* M. de Magellan, Benyowsky's dupe, had published a work, "Description des Octants et Sextants Anglais," in 1775. He was also practically engaged in dividing these and other instruments for observation more accurately.

from his not knowing the variation of the compass, * except perhaps by conjecture and from his considering the current as a daily element in his log-book. He has nowhere mentioned the method he used to ascertain the direction and velocity of these currents, and as every experienced navigator must be aware that no such method exists, except such as may be derived from comparing the reckoning with celestial observations or a timekeeper, it will follow, of course, that this element has rendered his longitude more uncertain."

Further on Mr. Nicholson infers that "Ismyloff gained his information by sailing with him" (the Count); whereas Ismyloff, as we are informed by the journal, was a young person apprenticed to the sea and had therefore sailed in those regions, whereas the Count was a landsman without that experience, excepting such as was obtainable in the Baltic during a trip or two which he states he took in the service of the Marine States of Malta—a tale which might be "told to the marines."

Having suborned a scoundrelly captain of a vessel who was more than suspected of having murdered his former commander and known to have been engaged in at least one mutiny; having also bribed most of his crew and petty officers; the Count seems to have taken advantage of a military revolt, in which the Cossacks and soldiers were the chief actors against the frightened civilian population, to get on board this ship with all the plunder of *the citizens* which they could lay their hands on. His proposed destination was throughout *viâ* the Philippines to Europe.

Benyowsky's account that he had *seized* the *St. Peter and St. Paul*, which he claimed as a capture from the Russians, is even at variance with his own story. He had arranged with the captain of the vessel to take him and his companions to Macao, and it is very doubtful even if he, the Count, was the moving spirit in the whole adventure. It almost appears as if Mr. Kuzneczow, who introduced Captain le sieur Csurin of the *Peter and Paul* to the Count, had more to do with the arrangements for the flight of the convicts than Benyowsky.

* Benyowsky attempted to falsify the compass by iron placed in the vicinity of the binnacle (*vide infra*).

By sheer swagger and plausibility the Count assumed the lead of the less educated adventurers, and he was ever ready to appropriate to himself the lion's share of credit and profit, whilst often pretending, like Cagliostro, that he gave up all his winnings to his associates. No doubt there was a plot by which a riot was raised in the town, in the confusion of which the Governor was killed; but all the romantic nonsense about storming the fortress is probably sheer invention.

It seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Nicholson that the Sieur Csurin (called also Le Sieur Csorni Le Surin, and generally Csurin by Benyowsky), who had before been in command of the packet, or "hooker," *St. Peter and St. Paul*, had formerly voyaged to the Aleutian Islands, and, indeed, had wintered upon Unalashka Island the previous year with Levasheff and Krenitzin * (in the death of whom he was supposed to be implicated), and the Count himself in his description of the Kurile Islands (not included in the text, chap. xxxiv.) ascribes his information principally to this mariner who accompanied him, and who he assures his readers had been navigating these seas for the past twenty-five years. He is, not improbably, identical with the Alexei Drusinin, a merchant of Kursk, who sailed in a vessel built by Trapesnikoff, in which he was wrecked at Behring's Island. His second in command, Korostilow, is also to be identified with Kolodijoff, who was another merchant trading in these islands.

It will also be observable that the filibuster who figures in Benyowsky's narrative as Jean Ochotyn is evidently Aphanassei Otcheredin mentioned by Coxe, the similarity of their adventures leaves no doubt on this subject whatever.

It is therefore almost useless to minutely analyse each successive step of the Hungarian Count as given in his fictitious journal. Nicholson believed the narrative to be trustworthy because the facts mentioned agreed so well with contemporary accounts, but it is evident that Benyowsky not only had all the material in the form of charts, logs, and journals of previous voyages, but he actually had as his companions the

* Krenitzin and Levasheff, we are told by Coxe, returned to the mouth of the Kamtchatka river in the autumn of 1769, where Krenitzin was drowned in a canoe belonging to Kamtchatkal natives (See *Coxe*, p. 222).

master of the vessel and various other mariners in the ship whose acquaintance with the localities north of Japan was, so to say, intimate. By a little alteration of names the Count was able to make it appear that he had made some wonderful discoveries, but it does not appear that there is any one discovery which he did make, excepting that of the so-called Island of Liquor, which existed solely in his vivid imagination, and which he seems to have evolved from his inner consciousness of what such a Utopian islet ought to be after reading Anson's tempting account of Tinian.

Now Lieutenant Synd in the year 1767 sailed from Ukinski Point past the points Oljutowskoi, Apachazamskoi, Chatynskoi, &c., to what he supposed to be the continent of America, lying within one degree of Tschutski Promontory, between 64° and 66° N. latitude. He reached Okhotsk in 1768. Synd's chart was doubtless in Benyowsky's possession, as the Count states that he had all information from him; and in the *St. Peter and St. Paul*, which vessel had been employed in similar voyages under Krenitzin. A captain of a vessel, named Cusma Korostilow, had also put into the Count's hands a journal giving an account of discoveries of certain Cusma islands. From these sources the Count, who seems to have been ignorant of navigation, was able to fudge an altogether imaginary course, basing his pretended discoveries on the information obtained from Synd and others. Wherever these former navigators had supposed America and various islands to be situated he actually found them. Thus, although to his own account he set out with the idea of sailing southwards to Tinian in the Philippine Islands, he had to account for the time spent apparently in plundering Japanese, and perhaps Dutch, vessels,* and so concocted a narrative of discovery.

It was the avowed object of our hero to get back to Hungary in order to claim his patrimony, and there seems no reasonable object in view to account for his proceeding to cruise in the Behring's Sea and off the coast of America, even for the purpose of obtaining a cargo of skins, as from having looted the treasury and magazines of Bolsheretsk he and his associates must have been well provided with money and a

* He encountered one Dutch ship, he says in journal, August 23rd.

valuable cargo of furs. Supposing he did go for this cruise, it must have been that the captain of the ship, Csurin, insisted on obtaining a cargo for himself and his sailors. On the other hand, it is probable that the *Peter and Paul* would call at a convenient harbour in one of the Kurile Islands, at Mareekan (?) according to Ismailoff, in order to recruit with fresh provisions and water, to dry their damaged skins, to count the treasure, and, in fact, divide the spoil, as well as arrange their future proceedings. They then certainly appear to have traded at various Japanese ports, where they could exchange their seal-skins for gold and silver, which metals were comparatively cheap amongst the Japanese at that period.

What island among the Kuriles they stopped at is now difficult to say. It is noticeable that even Jókai, the Hungarian novelist, who believes in Benyowsky's narrative, marks his track as touching at Kadiak Island, south of Alaska, which it is almost needless to remark is further to the east than even Benyowsky himself professed to have gone, and thence to the Island of Urumusir (which he apparently identifies with the Island of Atka), and thence to one of the Kuriles, and so on to Uzilpatchar, a port, according to Jókai's view, on the N.E. coast of Nipon, either Octzutsu or Yamadu harbours, in 39° latitude. Of the Kuriles, Paramushir Island, one of the largest of the archipelago, being 60 miles long by 14 broad, appears mostly to correspond with the one visited, and it is not improbable that this is the island which Benyowsky mentions under the name of Urumusir, and fixes among the Aleutians; yet Mareekan is identical with Simusir.

The Count informed Mr. Ochotyn at Behring's Island that his "situation required a speedy return to Europe" on May 22, 1771. On the 24th of May he states that his crew were resolved to seek a passage to the northward of Kamchatka in spite of him; and on the 12th of June the associates insisted that they should make the shortest course to some European establishment, as they represented with truth "that they had not entered into any engagement to run over the ocean in search of discoveries." He thought, therefore, to satisfy their desires, and abandoned his project. These conflicting statements evince the greatest perplexity as to what the object of

an aimless voyage among the islands of Behring's Sea could possibly be. It could not have been hunting for furs, the usual object of navigators in these regions, for the vessel only stayed a very few days in each locality touched at. The only reason to be arrived at is that the voyage was fictitious, and invented solely to account for the time passed in passage from Bolsheretsk to Macao.

With regard to the Japanese ports, some of which were undoubtedly visited by the Count in his journey to the south, it is noticeable that he makes use of the names to be found in the "Carte de l'Empire du Japon, dressée sur les Auteurs Japonois sur les Memoires des Portugais et des Hollandois, et en particulier sur ceux des R.R.P.P. de la Compe de Jesus." Par le Sr Bellin, Ingenieur au Depôt des plans et cartes de la Marine, MDCCXXXV. In this map are to be found the Islands of Ximo and Xicaco, now known as Kiusiu and Sikok, and Tacasima, or Tacuxima, now known as Tanega Sima, with the names Tosa and Bungo, also mentioned by the Count, as well as the Point of Misaqui, from which he appears to have named the Port of Misaqui, which is placed at the extremity of the province of Idsu.

A certain Port de Nambu is shown by Bellin on the N.E. coast of Japan in latitude 39° 45′, which may be the port of Namqu in Benyowsky's document signed at Canton, and south of it is a group of islands which are named Isles de Schiltpads, or Matsima, from which Usilpatchar could be constructed. It is certainly the name most nearly analagous to that remarkable word; and moreover, as it has the significant words "*Mines d'or*" on some mountains near it; it is easily to be understood what attraction this legend would have had for Benyowsky supposing, as is not improbable, that he possessed this map of Bellin, or a similar chart.

In the hurry of getting away the vessel was probably in want of water, and as the captain, on Benyowsky's own showing, was continually drunk, it would be strange if their course was not somewhat erratic; and, moreover, from the composition of the convict crew and rebel passengers there must have been wild dissensions and a good deal of free fighting. Out of ninety-six who started, after four months on

board only sixty-five remained at the end of the voyage. A survival of the fittest, of the greatest blackguards of that ill-assorted assemblage on board the blessed *St. Peter and St. Paul.*

Their proper track was along the Kuriles, where they could, so to speak, make their way from island to island, and ultimately reach Jedzo, or Jesso. Next, there seems no doubt that, finding a demand for their skins and furs prevailed in the Japanese towns, they visited various ports, probably the Gulf of Jeddo, perhaps Owari Gulf, Tosa in Sikok, and elsewhere. Proceeding south they would touch at the Miaco Sima Islands, and then reach Liu-Kiu. According to one account, the *Peter and Paul* reached one of the Bashee Islands before getting to Formosa: but sooner or later the vessel seems to have touched at Formosa, sailed along the east coast in search of a convenient port, and whilst at Ke-Lung Bay a skirmish with the aborigines, armed with bows and arrows, caused some loss to the Russians. Coasting on round the north of the island, the Count tells the Governor of Mauritius that he attacked the Chinese at Tanasoa; but he subsequently altered this relation (which would have implied an act of piracy), and said that he had carried on important operations against a city of the aborigines, a false story which cannot stand investigation. In this interpolation he has hopelessly confused his dates. We next hear of him at the Piscadores Islands, and finally the remnant of this discreditable party reaches Macao.

Benyowsky returned to France early in 1777, and did not leave Europe until 1784. He, therefore, had seven years in which to compose his romantic and fictitious memoirs, and to interweave the false with the true events of his journal, and therefrom produce a connected and detailed account of all his doings. Of his method we can form some idea by comparing his account with those of contemporary authorities and the published works extant during his residence in France to which he must have had access. Indeed, Mr. Nicholson admits that his hero, the Count, appears to have had Krascheninnikow's "Voyage into Siberia" before him. It is evident that he consulted the portly folios of the learned Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, as well as "La Description de Kamchatka," by Professor Krascheninnikow, which was published at

Paris in 1768, and he adopted, without acknowledgment, both descriptions and illustrations. Compare the descriptions of Bolsheretskoi, the true and the exaggerated numbers.

Krachennikow, 1768.

"On compte environ *trente* maisons."

"Cet Ostrog est inférieur à tous les autres par rapport à ses fortifications."

"Ce Fort est quarré, et a diz sagenes à chaque face. Il est revêtu de palissades. . . ."

"Il y a quarante-cinq soldats et quatorze fils de Cosaques."

Benyowsky, 1771.

"It is composed of *five hundred* houses."

"A fortress tolerably regular, having a ditch, five bastions, and twenty cannon."

"A garrison of two hundred and eighty soldiers."

(*Vide infra*, p. 235.)

Here we find the wretched ostrog, a mere palisaded enclosure, with a few three-pounders and a garrison of forty-five men, outside a town of thirty huts—for these habitations were merely log huts and yourts—described by Benyowsky as a regular fortification of bastioned trace, with ditch and drawbridge, and a garrison of two hundred and eighty soldiers. And when this garrison revolted and murdered the governor, enabling Benyowsky and his comrades to get away with plunder (after the soldiers had threatened to burn the few civilian residents in the wooden chapel where they had taken refuge), the Count declares "I found myself master of the entire province, the town, and fortress, in April, 1771"—quite forgetting that there were other ostrogs of superior strength and with larger garrisons throughout the province, which he never went near, and which, certainly, never capitulated to him, as he apparently expects his readers to believe.

Mr. Nicholson declares that all statements against the Count's credibility will bear two interpretations, but the Count had only himself to blame if wrong interpretations were assigned to his three or more separate versions of his whole career from the date of his birth until his final disappearance from Europe. At that time Europe was teeming with adventurers, plausible, amusing, and good-looking, but wholly unprincipled Don Juans, who would fight under any leader where plunder was to be gained. Such an one was Benyowsky.

THE

MEMOIRS AND TRAVELS

OF THE

COUNT DE BENYOWSKY.

THE Count Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky, Magnate of the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, was born in the year 1741 at Verbowa, the hereditary lordship of his family, situated in the county of Nittria, in Hungary. He was the son of Samuel, Count de Benyowsky, General of Cavalry, in the service of the Emperor, and Rosa, Baroness of Revay, Lady and hereditary Countess of Thurocz. The early part of his life was employed in the course of education, studies, and exercises which the court of Vienna affords to such of its vassals as are of illustrious families; and upon his arrival at the age of fourteen years he fixed his choice on the profession of arms. He was accordingly received into the regiment of Siebenschien, in quality of lieutenant, and joined the Imperial army then in the field against the King of Prussia. The first battle at which he was present was that of Lobositz,* on the 8th of October, 1756,

* The battle of Lobositz was the first action fought in the first campaign of the Seven Years' war. Marshal Broun's camp and position, on the plain between Lobositz and Sulowitz, on the left bank of the Elbe, about halfway between Prague and Dresden, were attacked by Frederick the Great on the 1st of October, 1756. The Austrians lost 3,000 killed and wounded, and the Prussians 3,800, but, nevertheless, Marshal Broun was forced to retire

under the command of General Brown; the second was that of Prague,* on the 6th of May, 1757, under the Prince Charles of Lorrain; and the third was before Schweidnitz, † on the 12th of November, 1757. In the following year, 1758, he had a share in the battle of Domstadt, ‡ under the command of General Laudon, after which period he received an invitation from his uncle, the Starost of Bieniowsky, § to repair to Poland, in order to secure the inheritance of his Starostie. He therefore quitted the Imperial service, and hastened into Lithuania, where he was acknowledged by his uncle as his heir, and succeeded him in the possession of his lands. His tranquillity was, however, interrupted by the sudden death of his father,

to his old camp of Budyn, behind the Eger river, nearer to Prague (*Jomini's* "Traité des grandes opérations militaires," vol. i. p. 12).

* The battle of Prague was fought on the 6th of May, 1757, outside the eastern portion of that town, on the east bank of the river Moldau, after Prince Charles of Lorraine had taken the general command of the Austrian troops. The Austrians were defeated and forced to retire within the walls of Prague and across the Zassawa river, after losing 12,000 killed and wounded, 4,000 prisoners, and 200 guns. The Marshal Broun was mortally wounded. The Prussians suffered heavily as well, losing 12,200 killed and wounded and 1,500 prisoners. The siege of Prague followed (Cf. "History of the House of Austria," by *Archdeacon Coxe*, vol. iii. pp. 374–5. Cf. *Jomini*, vol. i. p. 42).

† When the Austrians invaded Silesia in 1757, Schweidnitz, a fortified town near Breslau, was captured by the Austrian General Nadasty. The trenches were opened the 27th of October; three of the redoubts were carried by assault on the night of the 11th of November, which obliged the governor to capitulate on the following day, and the garrison of 6,000 men were made prisoners. Prince Charles was covering the siege (*Jomini*, vol. ii. p. 133 and vol. ii. p. 383).

‡ The important convoy of 3,000 waggons under General Ziéthen which was proceeding with supplies for the Prussian army of Frederick the Great, then besieging Olmutz in Moravia in the summer of 1757, was attacked and cut off in the defile of Domstadel (Domstadt) on the 30th of June by General Ziskowitz. This led to the raising of the siege of Olmutz by Marshal Keith, who commanded the investing force (*Jomini*, vol. i. p. 246).

§ *Starosties*. These are the great fiefs of the crown, in the king's gift, held by the possessors during life. The starost enjoys, besides large estates in land, territorial jurisdiction; the fourth of his revenues arising from the land is paid into the treasury of the republic. By the late change of government (at the partition) these starosties reverted to the public, the whole amount being appropriated to the expenses of the government (*Coxe*).

and the intelligence he received that his brothers-in-law had taken possession of his inheritance. This unexpected catastrophe demanding his immediate presence in Hungary, he quitted Lithuania, with the sole view of obtaining possession of the property of his family; but on his arrival he found the whole in the hands of his brothers-in-law, who, by force, opposed his entrance into his own castle. In this conjuncture, attending only to the justice of his cause and the dictates of his vivacity, he repaired to Krussova, a lordship dependent on the castle of Verbowa, where, after having caused himself to be acknowledged by his vassals, and being assured of their fidelity, he armed them, and by their assistance gained possession of all his effects. His brothers-in-law, thus defeated in their usurpation, adopted the most atrocious expedient to complete his ruin. For this purpose they represented him at the court of Vienna as a rebel and disturber of the public peace, in consequence of which false information the Empress Queen issued a decree in Chancery against the Count, who was, by that means, not only deprived of his property, but compelled to withdraw with the utmost expedition into Poland. It was in vain that he transmitted many memorials from Poland tending to justify his conduct, as his enemies suppressed them, and continued firm in the usurpation of his property.

This disgrace, added to the efforts of a disposition naturally active, made him determine to travel; so that, after establishing his estate in Lithuania in proper hands, he repaired to Dantzick, with the intention of applying himself to navigation, and made several voyages to Hamburgh, and from thence to Amsterdam and to Plymouth. He was on the point of making a voyage to the East Indies in the year 1767, when he received several letters from the Magnates and Senators of Poland, which engaged him to return thither, in order to join in the confederation then forming.* The personal regard he enter-

* The confederation then forming under Prince Radzivil (see *Coxe's* "History," p. 32).

The Bishop of Cracow and his associates inveighed with such bitterness against the pretensions of the dissidents, and against the interference of foreign powers, that he, together with the Bishop of Kiof and a few others,

tained for many of the nobility of that kingdom, added to the justice of their cause, and the consideration of his own peculiar interests, induced him to comply with the earnest solicitations of his friends. He accordingly arrived at Warsaw in the month of July, where he entered into an obligation upon oath with the chiefs of the confederacy, to the following effect:—

1. That he acknowledged the confederation as the only lawful tribunal of the republic, and that he would pay obedience only to the orders issued from its council.

2. That he would not acknowledge the King until the confederation should have declared him lawfully elected.

3. That he would join the confederation, on the first notice, where they should determine to assemble, to oppose the Russians by force of arms; and that he would not forsake the colours of the confederation so long as the Russians should remain in Poland.

4. That he would faithfully obey all the orders of the council or generality of the confederation.

In the month of December he left Warsaw, with the design of endeavouring to make his rights known at the court of Vienna, but being at length deprived of every hope of justice, he was obliged to return into Poland. Being thus unjustly deprived of a considerable fortune in Hungary, without the smallest expectation of recovering it, he determined to quit for ever the dominions of the house of Austria. During his passage through the county of Zips he was attacked by a violent fever, which obliged him to interrupt his journey. On this occasion he received repeated marks of friendship and regard in the house of Mr. Hensky, a gentleman of distinction, and became enamoured of one of his three daughters, with whom he soon after had the pleasure to be united by marriage.

In this state he found himself in the possession of happiness

the most violent of their party were arrested on the night of the 15th October, 1767, by a corps of Russian troops, and sent without trial to Smolensko at first, and subsequently, on suspicion of a correspondence with Lithuania, transported to Kaluga, from whence he was brought back to Warsaw and released in February, 1773, after five years' detention in prison (*Coxe*).

and tranquillity; but it was not his fate to continue long in possession of repose. The confederate states of Poland, a party of whom had declared themselves at Cracow,* taking notice that the Count de Benyowsky was one of the first who had signed their union at Warsaw, wrote to him to join them. Their pressing solicitations would have been ineffectual, if he had not been acted on by a stronger tie. His oath compelled him to go. He therefore departed without informing his spouse, and repaired to Cracow,† where he arrived on the very day the Count Panin made the assault. He was received with open arms by the Marshal Czarnezky, and was immediately appointed Colonel-General, Commander of Cavalry, and Quartermaster-General.

On the 6th of July (1768) he was detached to Novitarg to conduct a Polish regiment to Cracow, a commission which he

* The outrage committed upon the Bishop of Cracow and his adherents entirely subverted all liberty of debate, and a general discontent was excited among the Roman Catholic partisans. Several bands of Polish malcontents, or confederacies, made their appearance along the frontier of the Turkish Empire in defence of their faith. One party of these insurgents seized upon the fortress of Bar, in Podolia, and another got possession of Cracow. The royal troops who marched against them were either routed or prevailed upon to join them. In this dreadful crisis of affairs, the senate petitioned the Ambassador from St. Petersburg not to withdraw the Russian troops, and Poland became a scene of bloodshed and devastation. In the various conflicts the superiority of Russian discipline generally prevailed. The confederates, however, at first, secretly encouraged by the house of Austria, assisted by the Turks, and supplied with money and officers by the French, were able to protract hostilities from the dissolution of the diet of 1768 to the division of Poland in 1772 (*Coxe*).

Some of the confederates' banners bore as a device a red cross, and the private soldiers of the confederacy wore a cross interwoven in their clothes.

† *Cracow*, a curious old town, was formerly the capital of Poland, where the kings were elected and crowned, and was once almost the centre of the Polish dominions. It stands in an extensive plain, watered by the Vistula, which is broad, but shallow; the city and its suburbs occupy a vast tract of ground, but were so thinly inhabited that they scarcely contained 16,000 inhabitants. Although the streets are broad and handsome, they present striking marks of ruined grandeur, the churches alone having preserved their original splendour. During the commotions treated of by Benyowsky the town underwent repeated sieges, and was alternately in possession of the Russians and confederates. The walls were built by Venceslaus, King of Bohemia.

performed with honour, by bringing the whole regiment, composed of six hundred men, through the camp of the enemy before the town.

The Marshal was so well satisfied with the conduct of the Count, that he prevailed on the council of the generality to appoint him Muster-Master General, a place for which he had a competitor in the Prince Martin de Lubomiersky, who, upon his arrival at Cracow with two thousand regular troops, was declared a member of the generality of the confederation, and Inspector-General of Cavalry.

Before the arrival of this Prince, the Count de Benyowsky had proposed to the Marshal an expedition to sieze the fortress of Landscron with the Polish regiment in the service of the Crown, which was quartered in that province. The Prince de Lubomiersky, on hearing of this proposal, thought the enterprise easy, and undertook it himself. Without acquainting the Count, he therefore gave orders to his cavalry to proceed, and it was not till after his departure that the Marshal Czarnesky informed him of this attempt. The Count de Benyowsky did not hesitate to assure the Marshal that the Prince would be defeated by the Russians before he had proceeded half the way, and that there was no other remedy than to send the rest of the cavalry, without delay, to charge the Russians at the instant of their attack on the Prince. Unfortunately, the Marshal was long in deciding; so that it was not till the second day after the departure of the Prince that the Count de Benyowsky received orders to march, with fourteen hundred cavalry, to support him. In consequence of this delay, the Count, notwithstanding his utmost diligence, did not arrive at Kremenka till six hours after the defeat of the Prince. However, he had the good fortune to find the Russians on the spot, not expecting any attack. Upon the information he had received from his spies of their position and their negligence, he attacked and defeated them, and retook two hundred men, who had been made prisoners, of the party of the Prince Lubomiersky.

After this manœuvre he himself formed the project of carrying the attempt upon Landscron into execution.* On his march

* At some distance from Cracow is noticeable the fortress of Landskron,

towards that fortress he was so fortunate as to meet with several bodies of the Prince de Lubomiersky's troops, which reinforced his own. At length he arrived before the fortress, where he summoned the troops of the Crown to surrender themselves prisoners, and to put him in possession of the place, which he had the satisfaction of seeing performed in the space of an hour's time. His first proceeding was to engage the new troops under their oath of fidelity in the service of the confederation; after which he dispatched a courier to the Prince Lubomiersky (who, since his defeat, had taken refuge in Hungary, without troops or friends) to acquaint him with his success, and invite him to resume his command. But two days afterwards, having received undoubted information that the Russian General, Count Apraxin, was on his march to invest Cracow, he judged it indispensably necessary to hasten to the defence of that place; and as he foresaw that a town of that magnitude could not be defended unless it were well supplied with provisions, he laid the districts of Bielcz, Landscron, and Novitarg under contribution, and obtained eighty carriages of grain, with six hundred oxen.

With this convoy he quitted Landscron, and marched towards Cracow. On his arrival at Vielicka,* a town famous for its salt-works, he met a party of Russians, which he attacked and defeated, taking thirty prisoners, and the sum of nine hundred and eighty thousand Polish florins, being the King's revenue from the salt-works. In the night of the 29th of July he came to the passage of the Vistula, from whence he dispatched an officer to inform the Marshal Czarnezky of his return, requesting that the gates might be opened to admit his

situated upon a rock, which the confederates possessed during the troubles prior to the partition, and from whence they made excursions against the Russians and the Polish troops in the service of the King. The citadel of Cracow was taken by surprise by the confederates in February, 1772, from this fortress, entrance being made through a subterranean sewer.

* The celebrated salt-mines of Wielitska are situated within eight miles of Cracow. These mines have been now worked above six hundred years, for they are mentioned in the Polish annals as early as 1237, under Boleslaus the Chaste. Their profits, before the partition, belonged to the King's privy purse, and were worth nearly £100,000 *per annum*. They now belong to Austria.

party into the town without being discovered by the Russians. The Marshal, who was not acquainted with the particulars of the enterprise of the Count, but had heard by report that he was defeated and slain, was overjoyed at his return, and he entered the city with four thousand cavalry, a large sum of money, and a supply of provisions.

Immediately after the arrival of the Count, he proposed to the Marshal to establish a camp without the town, representing to him that their numerous cavalry would exhaust their magazines without being of any utility. In support of this proposal he observed that the greatest advantages would be derived from an entrenched camp, as it would facilitate the junction of several parties of the nobility, who durst not declare themselves in favour of the confederation, because they saw no force to support them against the Russians. The representations of the Count did not, however, prevail with the council of the confederation. Orders were given to shut and barricade the gates of the town, including all the troops, whose number amounted to thirteen thousand men. General Apraxin approached every day nearer the town, and laid the surrounding country desolate, so that it could no longer afford any subsistence to the besieged. Provisions by this means becoming very scarce and dear, the Count again proposed to the Marshal to permit him to sally out with a party of two thousand cavalry, in hopes that with this troop he might throw some provisions into the town, and perhaps cause the Russian General to raise the siege. The council of the generality accepted this proposal, and permitted him to leave the city on the 23rd of July, when he passed out at the gate of the Vistula, and swam his troops across the river, every other passage being shut up.

As soon as he had gained the open country he dispatched several officers to engage the nobility to join him and furnish subsistence for the besieged town. As early as the 8th of August he found himself at the head of near five thousand horse and a good number of carriages, loaded with provisions, drawn by oxen, which were likewise intended to make part of the subsistence. On the 7th of August he repaired to the passage of the Vistula, but finding it occupied by the Russians, he

retreated towards Vielicka, for the greater certainty of introducing the supplies into the town; and as he concluded that the best method of insuring success would be to attack the Russians on one side, in order to facilitate the passage on the other, he accordingly marched on the 10th of the same month with three thousand horse directly to the enemy's camp, leaving the convoy of provisions under the command of the Baron de Klusewsky, Colonel of Infantry, with orders to take advantage of the moment of the attack to enter the town. At three o'clock in the morning the Count in person attacked the Russian camp, and compelled General Apraxin to collect all his troops to oppose him, by which means a passage was left for the Baron de Klusewsky. At eight o'clock the Count, being convinced that his supplies had entered Cracow, made a precipitate retreat, after having lost above sixteen hundred men. The Russian cavalry, composed of Cossacks and Hussars, pursued the Count, who, in his retreat, had the misfortune to have his horse killed under him, and, after receiving two wounds, he himself fell at last into the hands of the enemy.

The Russian General, being informed of the successful manœuvre of the Count, was impressed with a very high opinion of him, and proposed to the Count to enter into the service of his sovereign, an offer which was rejected with disdain. He was, therefore, on the point of being sent with the other prisoners to Kiovia, where his friends ransomed him for two thousand ducats, which is equivalent to twenty-two thousand French livres.* Being thus set at liberty, he considered himself as dispensed from his parole which he had given to the Russians; it being an uncontestable truth, that a man who purchases the use of his faculties has a right to apply them to any use he may find necessary for his welfare. By virtue of this indubitable right, the Count again entered Cracow, and was received with the most perfect satisfaction by the whole confederacy.

At the first council of war which was held, he represented to the generality that the town being no longer able to hold out, it became an object of the utmost consequence to secure another place of retreat. He therefore proposed to the

* Or £962 sterling.

council to appoint him to seize the castle of Lublau, situated on the frontier of Hungary. This project was approved of by the council, and the execution was committed to the charge of the Count, who on the 22nd quitted the town of Cracow, a body of six hundred horse being appointed to follow him. On his arrival on the frontier he used every exertion to obtain the intelligence necessary to ensure success to his enterprise. He even ventured to visit the commanding officer of the castle, who was not apprehensive of the least danger. After a few visits he had the address to engage more than half the garrison by oath in the interest of the confederation, and he only waited for the appearance of the detachment from Cracow. But it unfortunately happened that the commander of that body was so indiscreet as to divulge the purpose to which it was destined; so that the news arrived at the castle of Lublau before the troops, and the Count de Benyowsky, who waited in readiness in the town of Georgenburg, near the castle, was seized and carried into that fortress. The precaution he had taken of remaining in Hungary did not save him from the danger, because the commandant of Leutsch, an Imperial town, had permitted the foreign troops to pass into Hungary, contrary to the rights of his sovereign. The commanding officer of the castle treated the Count with the greatest indignity, and, pursuant to his order, sent him to General Apraxin at Cracow, who had taken possession of that town during the absence of the Count. It fortunately happened, however, that, in the passage from Novitarg, a troop of two hundred confederates, whose commanding officer knew the uniform of the troops who were conducting the Count, met them and rescued him out of their hands. As soon as the officer recognized the Count de Benyowsky he surrendered his command to him. With this small force he marched towards Lublin, a town where the rest of the confederation of Cracow had appointed to meet, in order to join those of Bar. On his arrival near Lublin he sent an intelligent officer to inquire whether the Russians were still at a distance, and whether any part of the confederation had already repaired to Lublin. The officer, on his return, acquainted him that he had found a party of the confederates in Lublin, commanded by M. Derzanowsky, who was then

busied in engaging the nobility of that palatinate to declare themselves in favour of the confederation; but that he had likewise been informed that the Russians were advancing by forced marches to dislodge the confederates from that town. This news caused the Count de Benyowsky to abandon his design of entering Lublin, instead of which he proceeded to Spicza, where he met a body of the confederates, who joined his party. From Spicza he published several manifestos, in which he exhorted the nobility to join him, fixing the rendezvous at Zamosc, to which place he directed his march.

On his arrival at Krasnoslaw he learned that a party of the confederates, who had retired to Chelm, was in danger of being attacked by a body of Russians, composed of one battalion of infantry, eight hundred Cossacks, and four hundred Hussars. He instantly determined to hasten to their assistance, and marched the whole night between the 17th and 18th of October, 1768. His arrival was almost immediately after that of the Russians, whose cavalry had begun to spread over the suburbs. He attacked and dislodged them, and upon entering the town he proposed to Colonel Suhalsky, whom he found with four hundred horse in the great square, to leave the town and attack the Russians. This being resolved on, the Count marched out with his whole troop, pretending to fly, in order to detach the enemy's cavalry from their infantry. He had the good fortune by this means to draw them two leagues from Chelm, when, perceiving them at a considerable distance from their infantry, he faced about and briskly attacked them. The Cossacks were thrown into confusion at the first charge, and the Hussars, after sustaining the shock, endeavoured to retreat towards their infantry; on the arrival of which the Count, whose force consisted entirely of cavalry, retired with the loss of one hundred and six men, the enemy not daring to pursue him. The affair being thus terminated, the Count returned to Krasnoslaw, where he had the satisfaction to meet a party of three hundred infantry, sent by the nobility of the palatinate of Sandomir, to the assistance of Bar,* the city from

* DISSIDENTS AND THE CONFEDERATION OF BAR.—The religious disputes in Poland were fomented both by Catharine and Frederick, who declared themselves protectors of the dissidents, under which denomination were

whence the general confederation took its name. After the addition of this troop he found himself at the head of two thousand men, in want only of field pieces and ammunition.

Before he quitted Krasnoslaw he assembled a council, in which it was determined to repair to Zamosc, and take possession of the town, in order to procure the necessary supplies of arms, money, and ammunition. On the 28th of October the Count encamped in the suburbs of the town, and summoned the commandant of the town to pay the contribution of three thousand ducats, arms for two thousand infantry, four field pieces, four thousand pounds of gunpowder, and six thousand pounds of lead. On the 27th, having received nearly the whole of his demand, he quitted Zamosc, with the intention of repairing to Belcz, in order to encourage the nobility of that palatinate to declare in favour of the confederation.

Upon his arrival at Grodeck he judged it proper to remain some time, in expectation of the parties which the nobility of the palatinate of Lublin might send to him. Between the 6th and 10th of November he was joined by seven hundred and forty-three horsemen and one hundred and forty fantassins, whereupon, judging himself sufficiently strong to appear before Belcz, he quitted Grodeck on the 12th, on his march towards that place. As he was passing through the village of Lelki he met an officer with dispatches from General Vitt, commander at Kamieniecz, to the King. This officer, who was compelled

comprised all Christian sects who dissented from the Roman Catholic religion.

Soon after the election of Stanislaus, these dissidents being deprived of their privileges appealed to England, Russia, Prussia, and Denmark. Religious disputes were soon blended with political cabals, and a confederacy of discontented Catholics was formed under the appellation of malcontents and headed by Prince Radzivil.

In 1768 bodies of these Catholics assembled on the frontier of Turkey and Hungary, seized the fortress of Bar in Podolia and formed an union which was called the confederacy of Bar: and the country became a scene of bloodshed and devastation.

In one of the conflicts a party of Russians pursued the Poles into Turkish territory and burnt the small town of Balla. This accidental incursion was construed as a violation of territory; the Porte, *instigated by France*, published a declaration of war against Russia in October, 1768, and by this diversion enabled the confederates to protract hostilities.

to deliver his packet, informed them that a Russian party was then in the field for the express purpose of pursuing and destroying the confederated forces under his command, and that the Russian general had set a price upon his head. After this information, and from the particulars contained in the dispatches, he changed his design, and instead of repairing to Belcz himself, he sent no more than a detachment of six hundred horse to that place, commanded by Colonel Suhalsky, to lay the town under contribution. The Count passed, with the greatest part of his force, to Sokal, a town not far from Belcz, where he waited the return of his spies. One of them arrived in the night of the 20th, from whom he received information that a corps of Russians, joined by a regiment of Polanders in the service of the King, were marching hastily to surprise the Count, who they supposed to be in Belcz with his whole force. At daybreak he dispatched an order to his officer in command at Belcz to march out of the town in the night of the 21st, and proceed towards the village of Lelki to meet the Russians, and engage them to pursue him. He expressly ordered him to retreat towards Sokal, and not to face about till he arrived on the banks of the river in the way to Sokal. After forwarding these orders the Count quitted Sokal the 21st of December, and placed his infantry, with four pieces of cannon, in ambuscade in a wood by the side of the road, while he himself, with his cavalry, remained concealed behind an eminence nearer to Lelki. In this disposition he passed the whole day and part of the night in expectation of the event, frequently sending detachments towards Lelki to observe the enemy. His officers returned every hour with information, and at length the long expected hour arrived in which he received notice that the detachment from Belcz had met the corps of Russians, was immediately attacked by them, and that the confederate party would very soon pass by his post. In fact, the Count heard several discharges of fire-arms, and quickly after he saw Colonel Suhalsky retire towards Sokal, pursued by the Russians. He suffered both to pass until Suhalsky had proceeded beyond the wood where the confederate infantry was in ambush. These began a smart fire on the Russians, who instantly halted, and afterwards retreated

towards the mountain, behind which the Count lay concealed, out of the reach of cannon shot. The Russians drew up in order of battle to receive the shock of Colonel Suhalsky's party, who came upon them, supported by the infantry, out of the ambuscade. As soon as the first fire had began, the Count rushed upon the enemy's right flank, which being forced to give way fell upon the centre in the greatest disorder. The Russians, nevertheless, fought with desperate valour as long as their ammunition lasted; but at length being compelled to yield to force, they surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of four hundred men, being the remainder of a party of three thousand.

After this happy termination, the Count, surprised to find no cannon with the enemy's infantry, was informed that the Russian commander, General Ismailow, having perceived that the corps of Colonel Suhalsky was only a detachment, had concluded that the Count himself remained at Belcz; for which reason he sent only the cavalry, with six companies of chasseurs, on the pursuit, and had himself, with four battalions, six pieces of cannon, ten squadrons of Hussars, and a Polish regiment of cavalry, proceeded to Belcz, with the intention of destroying the Count's party. In order, therefore, to obtain the best information of the designs of this General, the Count de Benyowsky dispatched a Polish Captain, M. Ribniczki, to make the necessary inquiries, and, if possible, to bring the Polish regiment over to the side of the confederation.

After the departure of this emissary the Count retired with his troops towards Mosty, a town situate among the mountains of black Russia, about sixteen leagues from the field of battle, where he remained till the 27th of the month. On the 28th, about noon, he was informed that a body of troops were seen on the heights, marching with their colours flying. He immediately ordered his forces to move, and marched towards them, with a determination to give them a warm reception; but he was soon agreeably undeceived by the arrival of a Polish officer, whom he perceived to be his emissary, and who informed him that the troops then on their march towards him consisted of four squadrons of Polish cavalry, who having quitted the Russian service, were desirous of joining the confederation.

The usual oath was therefore administered to them, after which the Count resolved to proceed to Bar, in order to give an account of his proceedings to the generality of the confederation, and to dispose of his prisoners. But the following day, having received information of the taking of Bar, and the retreat of the Count de Potoczky towards the frontier of Turkey, he was desirous of joining him, and would have carried his purpose into effect if he had not been solicited by the nobility of the palatinate of Lemberg, who sent several deputies to request him to approach their town and support them in declaring for the confederation. He therefore marched towards Lemberg on the 4th of December, and levied a contribution in that city, but was joined by no more than fifty horsemen. From Lemberg he sent a party to Brody to raise some money, and himself marched towards the Dneister. On the 14th he met at Zavalow a party of the confederates of the corps under the Count de Pulauzky, from whom he learned the whole of the misfortunes the confederation had suffered, the taking of Bar, the defeat of Count Potoczky at Podhayze, and the imprisonment of the old Marshal Pulauzky: but the event which most sensibly affected him was the design of the two sons of the Marshal Pulauzky, who, seeing their father imprisoned, were desirous of quitting the army of the confederation.

All these circumstances determined the Count to repair to Zuaniecz on the 21st. The young Counts Pulauzky, his old friends, received him with the greatest joy, as a friend capable of assisting in their enterprises, and on the following day he was proclaimed Commandant-General of Cavalry, and installed in quality of Commander-in-Chief at Zuaniecz, a place which the elder son of the Count Pulauzky ceded to him on account of the confidence he reposed in his experience. Immediately after the arrival of the Count a change was made in the discipline of the troops of the confederates. They were better provided, and subordination more strictly attended to. And as the rigour of the season seemed to forbid the approach of the Russians, the Count availed himself of the time to stock the two fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp with provision, in the latter of which the younger Count Pulauzky commanded in person. He likewise used every exertion to reconcile the

Count Potoczky and Krasinzky with the Marshal Pulauzky. But this interposition had nearly proved unfortunate to the Count Benyowsky himself; for the Count Potoczky, suspecting him of an intention of releasing the Marshal Pulauzky by open force, had proceeded so far even as to issue orders to arrest the Count de Benyowsky. The latter, however, having received information of the proceeding, quitted the camp and retired to Zuaniecz, where he connected himself still more intimately than before with the two sons of the Marshal de Pulauzky.

On the 29th of December the Count received advice of the departure of the Count Potoczky, with his troops, for Bender. He saw clearly that this disunion between the two confederate parties would destroy their force, and for that reason he advised the Count de Pulauzky to write to the Counts Potoczky and Krasinzky, to represent to them the numerous dangers to which they would expose many parts of the confederation by separating from them; that, on the contrary, it was absolutely necessary to re-enter Poland with a considerable body of Turks to encourage and support the nobility in taking up arms in favour of the confederation, which they might easily do by sacrificing their private interests to the general good of the republic. But the Count Potoczky, listening only to the suggestions of his ambition, and flattered by the distinction he met with among the Turks, persisted in the design of not quitting the Turkish army, in which he likewise prevailed on the Count de Krasinzky to concur.

This precipitate departure of the Counts Potoczky and Krasinzky, and the distance of the Turkish army near Bender, entirely disconcerted the two confederate parties, composed of seven thousand eight hundred men, one half of whom were commanded by Count Casimir Pulauzky at Okopp, and the other by the Count de Benyowsky at Zuaniecz. These two chiefs, in order to keep their troops in spirits, and likewise to answer the essential purposes of the confederation, took into their pay three thousand Lipky, a kind of light Turkish cavalry, and after having put the fortresses into a state of defence, they established two camps between Zuaniecz and Okopp.

Such was their position on the 22nd of January, 1769. On

the 24th they received advice that a Russian corps, commanded by General Ismailow, was established at Constantinow, in Wolnia, and that another corps, under the command of General Kretsetnikow, had fixed their quarters at Lemberg. Hence they concluded that the Russians designed to molest them by their light troops till the expected arrival of General Galitzin with his army. To prevent this, their first care was directed to the preservation of the fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp, after which they raised their camp to march towards the enemy. The Count Pulauzky undertook to act against General Kretsetnikow, and the Count Benyowsky against General Ismailow. The latter directed his march towards Skalat, a castle and town belonging to the Count Scipion, one of his best friends, a circumstance which, however, did not prevent him from seizing the artillery and furniture. From Skalat he marched to Viogrodeck, Lampol, and Zaczslaw, at which last place he received a reinforcement of one hundred and sixty-nine horsemen and eighty-two foot soldiers. From Zaczslaw he retired into the forest of Lackow, whence he dispatched two of his officers to reconnoitre the enemy's post at Constantinow. On their return he learned that General Ismailow was not yet arrived, but that he was continually expected, and that there was at Constantinow only a major, commander of six companies of infantry, having with him two field-pieces, four hundred Hussars, and three or four hundred Cossacks; and that the enemy was ignorant of the position of the confederates, whom they supposed still to remain in their fortresses. On this information the Count de Benyowsky marched his troops the whole night between the 7th and 8th of February, and arrived before Constantinow at four in the morning. He immediately disposed his troops in order, and at five o'clock attacked them in three different places. The Russians made very little resistance, so that great numbers of them were slain, because the Turks gave no quarter, a circumstance which obliged the Count to threaten the aga who commanded them that if he did not put a stop to the carnage made by his troop, he would punish their cruelty on the spot. This firmness of the Count preserved the lives of many of these unfortunate men.

After having thus defeated the Russians he took possession of Constantinow, which he laid under contribution, and then proceeded to Medzibors. On the 15th he took the castle of Medzibors, the garrison consisting of sixty-eight grenadiers, with eight pieces of cannon, and a quantity of ammunition and provisions. From Medzibors hé passed the river Bogh, and marched towards Grodek, during which he was informed that the Russians, in conjunction with General Branicky, in the King's service, having been made acquainted with the operations and the march of the Count, had sent four thousand men, infantry and cavalry, from Bar, to pursue him. This intelligence caused him to hasten his march, and to pass the river Smotrick to the north of the castle of Felstin. On the 27th, being arrived at Satanow, he was informed that the Count Pulauzky, not having succeeded against Lemberg, had attempted to dislodge several parties of Russians in the vicinity of that place, three of which he had defeated; but that having received advices of the greatest consequence, he had retreated towards Zuaniecz in hopes of joining the Count. On the 27th the Count Benyowsky quitted Satanow, and marched towards Grodek, and as he was passing through the village of Ostokopia he met several carriages filled with wounded men, from whom he learnt that the Count Pulauzky had maintained a very sharp action with the Russians near the river Srebovicza, and had retired towards Grodek, the Russians not thinking proper to pursue him.

In consequence of this information the Count halted to refresh his troops, and after marching all night he arrived about day-break before Grodek, where the Count Pulauzky, hearing of his arrival, met him, and conducted him into the town. The junction of these troops was one of those happy turns of fortune which alone can change the issue of a well-conducted enterprise, such as was that of General Ismailow, who, since the affair at Constantinow, had sought the Count Benyowsky without being able to join him. The Russian commander, upon the information that the Count Pulauzky was at Grodek with three thousand men, determined to surround him, and would certainly have done it if the arrival of the Count with his corps had not intervened and prevented it.

On the 28th, in the evening, the confederate detachment announced the approach of the Russians, who were on their march, to the number of ten thousand, in two columns.

On the 1st of March, at seven in the morning, they were at no greater distance from the city than one league, when the Count de Pulauzky presented himself in opposition to them in the order of battle, with twenty-eight companies of infantry, supported by six pieces of cannon, with the Turkish and Polish cavalry on each wing. At nine o'clock the action began by an attack made by the Russian cavalry upon the left wing of the confederates, which was compelled to give way. The centre was at the same time charged by the enemy's infantry along its whole front, which likewise engaged their left. At this moment the Count de Benyowsky marched his whole infantry to support the left wing of the Count de Pulauzky, and himself, at the head of his cavalry, rushed on the enemy's right flank, who were not in the least expectation of this manœuvre. The Russian general then divided his centre to support his wings, but the enemy's Cossacks, who were overthrown, prevented the infantry from obeying their orders. The consequence was that the latter were thrown into the utmost confusion, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat, with the loss of their carriages and artillery. This affair cost the Russians near twelve hundred men slain, and as many taken prisoners; but the killed and wounded of the confederates did not exceed nine hundred.

On the 2nd of March the two Counts quitted the town of Grodek, and marched towards Zuaniecz with the intention of calling a council of war to decide ultimately on the measures to be pursued. On the 7th, on a spot between Zuaniecz and Okopp, they divided their troops in order to lead them into those fortresses to repose themselves after the fatigues they had undergone.

A council of war was held on the 8th, at which the Generals Laurent, Potoczky, Grocholzky, Radziminsky, Slabusersky, Noviczy, and other commanders of the troops of the republic attached to the confederation were present. The two Counts, persuaded that the Russian army waited only the return of spring to make their approach to the Turkish frontier, repre-

sented to the council that it would be prudent to determine to quit the two posts of Zuaniecz and Okopp and return into Poland. The reasons they offered were: 1. That while they remained on the frontier of Turkey the Russians would keep them separated from Poland, and consequently that the palatinates would never dare to declare for the confederation, because unsupported by any military force. 2. That they themselves would likewise continue unable to draw any supply either of subsistence or recruits from Poland, to reinstate their daily losses. 3. Lastly, that the two fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp could never hold out against an army. These remonstrances had no effect on the council, which obstinately persisted in the resolution of preserving the two fortresses, and for that purpose they determined to send one deputy to the Counts Potoczky and Krazinzky to request supplies of men and money, and another to Constantinople to solicit the same supplies from the Grand Signior. It was in vain that the Counts Pulauzky and Benyowsky represented that before the return of their deputies the Russians would attack them, and put it out of their power to abandon their present posts, for the council still adhered to their resolution.

On the 10th a foraging party brought word that they had discovered a numerous troop of the enemy's cavalry at Korolouka. The council immediately ordered a detachment on the pursuit. The Count himself took charge of this expedition, but instead of the enemy he met a party of six hundred confederates, who had formerly served under the Prince Lubomiersky. On the 12th, in the morning, advice was received by the Count that General Vitt had caused seven hundred men to march out of Kamieniecz Podolsky to take their position before Zuaniecz. The council being informed of this, gave orders to the Count to make the necessary dispositions to prevent their making a lodgment, which he did by presenting himself before them with eight squadrons of cavalry. Upon his approach he learned that General Vitt had sent this detachment only for the purpose of receiving a Russian courier from Constantinople, who was to be put into their hands by a Turkish detachment from Chotym. On this information the Count de Benyowsky acquainted the officer that the Turks had

confidence enough in the confederation to pass the man in question through their hands, concerning whose fate it was totally unnecessary for General Vitt to give himself any trouble; who, having consulted his own vanity in sending his detachment, might probably find reasons to repent the proceeding. This answer was followed by an order to the officer to withdraw instantly with his party or stand on his defence. The royalist officer retired without delay, and returned to Kamieniecz; and the Count, on his part, retired to Zuaniecz, where he found the Russian courier arrived, and received him in charge from the Turks to be conducted to Kamieniecz.

In the night of the 15th the Count received a courier from the Count Pulauzky, informing him that the latter having issued out of Okopp with a detachment of troops, on his march towards Oucze, was attacked by the Russians, and obliged to retreat towards Grodek, a village to which he had been invited to come. The Count Benyowsky immediately marched a part of his cavalry with the utmost expedition to his assistance, but though he traversed sixteen leagues in fourteen hours, he did not arrive till after the action, which, contrary to all expectation, had terminated in favour of the confederates, though the Count Pulauzky had no more than four hundred men with him to oppose a body of fourteen hundred. The prisoners taken in this engagement affirmed that the Russian party had been sent out to reconnoitre the ground and take some prisoners, in order to obtain information respecting the positions of the fortresses Zuaniecz and Okopp. They also informed the Count that General Ismailow intended in a short time to attack those fortresses with twelve thousand men appointed for the enterprise.

On the 18th, upon his return to Zuaniecz, the Count communicated this news to the council, which was also confirmed by a Polish officer who deserted from Kamieniecz to join the confederation. On the 21st the Count de Benyowsky having received fresh advices of the approach of the enemy, engaged the Count Pulauzky to quit the fortress of Okopp, as being incapable of maintaining a siege; but the Council refused to consent to the evacuation of that place, and at last, on the

22nd and 23rd, being assured that General Ismailow was at no greater distance than three leagues from Zuaniecz, they gave up all their hopes. The members of the council then deliberated only on the best means of securing themselves individually, and one after another they quitted the fortress to retire into Turkey, taking with them all the Russian prisoners. This proceeding consequently left the whole disposition of affairs in the hands of the Count de Benyowsky.

On the 24th, in the morning, the Count beheld from the fortress the enemy's columns following each other, and separating at the village of Havrilouka, whence he conjectured that they intended to attack the two fortresses of Zuaniecz and Okopp at the same time, a circumstance in which he was not deceived. On the same day about noon the Count fired several eight pounders at the enemy, loaded with only one-third of their usual charge. The balls, of course, not reaching the enemy, they concluded that they might, with impunity, approach still nearer the fortress, which they did the same day, and began to work on the erection of batteries. On the 25th the Russians began to fire on the castle, and continued their cannonade till the close of day without receiving any effectual return; but in the night, between the 25th and 26th, the Count, after having given orders to the commanding officer under him to fire on the enemy at daybreak with his heaviest artillery, sallied out of the castle by the gate of Ottaky, which leads towards the Dneister, with two thousand horse, and passing through Brahy, he made the entire circuit of the Russian camp, so that he found himself by daybreak at their backs. At this instant the artillery from the castle began a very heavy and destructive fire on the enemy's camp, which was within half-cannon shot of the place. Their troops, who could not rally without being exposed to the fire which swept their ranks, were quickly thrown into the utmost confusion, which was greatly increased by the sudden violence of the cavalry of the Count, who rushed upon them, and forced them at last to quit the camp and baggage, and fly with precipitation towards Grodek. Their terror was such that they did not stop till at the distance of six leagues from Zuaniecz, and on this occasion they lost eleven hundred slain, and three hundred and twenty-

eight prisoners, with two pair of colours, three standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon.

After the deliverance of Zuaniecz, the Count, desirous of assisting his companion, the Count de Pulauzky, at Okopp, marched immediately towards that fortress; but on his arrival he found it in ashes, and entirely abandoned, except by the dying and the dead. Some of the former acquainted the Count that the Count de Pulauzky, seeing the impossibility of maintaining the place, had himself, after repelling three assaults, set fire to the town and castle, and immediately afterwards sallied out, with the intention of forcing a passage through the enemy's camp to join the Count de Benyowsky; but that their knowledge of the subsequent adventures of their intrepid chief extended no farther.

The Count, after having seen the wounded placed in proper carriages, returned to Zuaniecz. On the 29th he received a letter from the Count de Pulauzky, who informed him that, not having been able to force a passage towards Zuaniecz, in his sally out of Okopp, he had passed the Dneister, and directing his march through Moldavia, he had happily arrived at Zombor, whence he proposed to join the party of confederates at Sandomir, in expectation of the arrival of the Count, whom he advised to quit Zuaniecz and immediately retire into Turkey, in order to march freely through Moldavia on the frontiers of Hungary, where he would himself wait for him in the neighbourhood of Zombor. The Count communicated this letter to all the commanders under him, and determined with them to adopt the measures proposed by the Count Pulauzky. In consequence of this decision he sent two of his officers to the Bacha of Chotym, to inform him of his intention, and to request the necessary assistance to facilitate his passage. The Bacha acquiesced in all his demands, and promised the indispensable assistance required by the Count. Orders were therefore immediately given to forward the equipages to Otaky, a village situated near Chotym; and on the 30th he evacuated Zuaniecz and marched to Braha, a Polish village on the bank of the Dniester, opposite Chotym, and under the cannon of that fortress. Nothing now remained but to pass the river; but just as the Count was about to form a bridge, the Bacha

sent him word that he durst by no means permit the establishment of a bridge across the river without express orders of the Grand Signior; and moreover, that, upon reflection, he did not think proper to venture to receive the Count and his troops till instructions should arrive from Stamboul.*

This message threw the Count into the utmost embarrassment. For, as he had evacuated Zuaniecz, he found himself exposed to the danger of being surrounded on the first occasion by the Russians, who, having the Bacha of Chotym in their interests, might easily, and without danger, attack the Count whenever they pleased. On the 6th of April the Russians took possession of Zuaniecz, and detached a party for the purpose of entirely destroying the Count and his troops. In the night, between the 7th and 8th, he was attacked at Braha by four thousand men, but the precipitation of the Russian general saved the Count. The enemy's cavalry preceded their infantry, and first entered the village, where they were very ill-treated by two batteries the Count had constructed upon a small eminence. Being thus forced to give way, they stopped the passage of their infantry, which descended the mountain of Braha; and as every shot of the batteries took effect, the Count had the good fortune to repel them. Nevertheless, as he was by no means desirous of a second visit, he quitted Braha on the 8th, and marched to Kitaygrod, where he laid a bridge across the Dniester, and entered Turkey in spite of the prohibition and menaces of the Bacha. He then passed through Mesava, and repaired to Stadienieza near Chotym, where he pitched his tents near the camp of the Bacha of Natolia, intending to rest his troops for a short space, and to settle upon the measures necessary to be adopted in facilitating his march through Moldavia.

On the 10th he received an order from the Bacha of Chotym to raise his camp, and leave the dominions of the Grand Signior without delay; and this order was attended with the threat, that on the least sign of resistance he would cause all the confederates to be cut in pieces. The Count returned for answer, that as the Grand Signior had granted his protection to the confederates of the republic, of which he was a member,

* *i.e.*, Constantinople.

it was with the greatest surprise that he beheld the conduct of the Bacha, who had already forfeited his word, by promising him every assistance, which he had basely departed from when he forbade him to pass the river at Braha, and by that means exposed him to the mercy of the Russians; that there was no occasion for other proofs to convince him of the bad faith of the Bacha, who had sold his services to the Russians; and that he feared not his threats, because he was well assured that the brave men he commanded would not execute a commission so base as that of cutting off the troops of the friends and allies of the Grand Signior, who had taken refuge in his dominions.

After dispatching this answer, the Count waited upon the Bacha of Natolia, who was encamped near him, and to whom he communicated every particular of the conduct of the Bacha of Chotym, at the same time that he requested his assistance against the violence of that traitor. The Bacha of Natolia, who was secretly the enemy of the Bacha of Chotym, promised the Count his assistance, and advised him to send a courier to Stamboul to acquaint the Grand Signior with the behaviour of the commander at Chotym, which the Count accordingly did the same day. On the 11th, in the evening, the Bacha of Chotym sent an Aga of the Janizaries to the Bacha of Natolia, with orders to secure the person of the Count, and send him to Chotym to be punished for his insolence. But the Bacha of Natolia kept his promise to the Count by sending an answer to the effect that the Count, having sent a csauz or courier to Stamboul, was entitled by the laws to an asylum till the return of the firman of the Grand Signior; and that, as his person was safe in his hands, the Bacha of Chotym need not doubt his security, though he refused to put him into his without an express order from the Grand Signior. After the departure of the Aga, the Bacha of Natolia advised the Count to raise his camp and retire, lest the Bacha of Chotym might avenge himself by treachery; and this generous Turk, not content with showing the Count every mark of friendship during his short stay, detached likewise with him a body of one thousand horse, to accompany him to the frontiers of Poland.

On the 14th the Count raised his camp, and marched

towards Cserniowcze, the residence of the Hospodar, at which place he arrived on the 16th, and from thence dispatched several of his officers to convey his baggage from Chotym ; but these, on their return, informed him that the Bacha had seized the whole. Thus plundered by his allies, he marched towards Avriloveze, where he dismissed the Turkish Spahis, and passed, at length, to Zabodricze, in Poland, preferring the chance of war, though in a hazardous position, to the base treatment he had received from his allies.

On the 18th, after having refreshed his troops, which consisted of about three thousand nine hundred men, he proposed to march towards Zombor to join the Count Pulauzky, but many of the commanders refused to follow him, and left him to the number of fourteen hundred horse ; refusing even to take charge of the sick and wounded, the conveyance of whom greatly incommoded the Count. He forced his march along the river Pruth as far as Dobrilow, where he arrived on the 26th. From Dobrilow he marched towards Oriow, and thence to Dorchovicz, which is situated in a valley between the Carpathian mountains. On the 5th of May he sent an officer from Dorchovicz to Zombor to procure intelligence of the Count Pulauzky ; and on the 9th his messenger returned with the news that Count Pulauzky had retired into Hungary, and that the Russians were there under the command of Colonel Brincken, who, being apprised of the approach of the Count, had determined to seek him. The Count, being sensible from this advice of his extreme danger, which he could not avoid as he was shut in by his enemies, proposed to his troops to enter Hungary, and there wait for a favourable opportunity to enter Poland, in junction with the Count de Pulauzky. But they refused to follow him, because they consisted, for the most part, of deserters from the Imperial forces, who durst not return into the Emperor's dominions. In this distressing situation he had no other alternative but to retire into the forest of Zyduczow, which he immediately put in execution. And Colonel Brincken would certainly have missed him, if he had not received advice of his retreat by a deserter who left the Count at the passage of Kippa, in the forest of Zyduczow.

The Russian colonel, judging that the Count was marching

towards Stry to join the confederate parties at Sanok, likewise hastened his march, and arrived thither half a day before the Count, whose forces were weakened by fatigue and hunger. In this state he was attacked, on the 19th of May about noon, by Colonel Brincken, at the head of four thousand men. The Count was at first compelled to give way; but on the arrival of his cannon he, in his turn, forced the Colonel to retire, who at last quitted the field, and retreated towards Stry. The advantage of the victory served only to augment the misery of the Count, who in this single action had near three hundred wounded and two hundred and sixty-eight slain, and who had no other prospect before him than either to perish by hunger with his troops in the forests, or to expose himself to be cut in pieces by the enemy. However, that he might have no cause to reproach himself, he took the advice of his officers and troops in his march towards Bialoboboky, who were unanimous to proceed to that place. The project required a speedy execution, though it was impossible to carry it into effect without first refreshing the men and horses who had just been in action. About eleven o'clock the Count resumed his march, and about ten in the morning of the 20th he arrived at the village of Szuka, where, being obliged to halt for refreshment, he was surprised by a party of Cossacks, and had only time to quit the village and form his troops in order of battle on the plain, before he was attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and soon after by their infantry, supported by several pieces of cannon, which caused the greatest destruction among the forces of the Count. At length, in the heat of the combat, the Count, having before received two wounds with the sabre, was wounded in the body by the shot of a cannon, loaded with old iron and other destructive rubbish. His fate decided that of his party, and the Russians had at last the satisfaction of seeing him their prisoner.

Colonel Brincken, the commander of the party he had fought with, caused the Count to be conveyed to the Russian General Prince Prosorouzky, who sent him to General ——, commander-in-chief of the army, then encamped at Tarnopol, a man equally cruel and base, who, contrary to every sentiment of humanity, insulting the misfortunes of the Count, not only

forbad the surgeons to dress his wounds, but likewise, after reducing him to bread and water, loaded him with chains, and in that state transported him to Kiow. It was fortunate, however, that the wounds of the Count reduced him to a situation which persuaded his conductor that he was in danger of immediate death, and induced him, upon his arrival at Polone, to make his report to Colonel Sirkow, the commanding officer at that place, who ordered him to be carried to the hospital, where he was cured of his wounds by a French surgeon named Blanchard; from whose report, when the Russian commander was informed that the Count was able to leave the hospital, he caused him to be lodged in the town, and advanced him fifty roubles for his subsistence.

During his stay at Polone the Count became acquainted with a lieutenant in the Russian service named Milck, a native of Courland, who, equally generous with his Colonel, offered him a share of the little he possessed. Thus it was, that in the lowest stage of misfortune the Count had the consolation to find friends, and he already had began to think his situation tolerable, when he at once experienced the reverse upon the arrival of Brigadier Bannier, who relieved Colonel Sirkow in his command, and who had a strong prejudice against the Count. Immediately after the departure of the Colonel this commander caused the Count to be loaded with chains and conducted to the dungeon with the rest of the prisoners, to whom this inhuman tyrant allowed no other subsistence than bread and water. Upon his entrance he recognized several officers and soldiers who had served under him, and their demonstrations of esteem and friendship was the only consolation he received in his distressed situation.

Twenty-two days were thus consumed in a subterraneous prison, together with eighty of his companions, without light, and even without air, except what was admitted through an aperture which communicated with the casemates. These unhappy wretches were not permitted to go out, even on their natural occasions, which produced such an infection, that thirty-five of them died in eighteen or twenty days; and such was the inhumanity and barbarity of the commander, that he suffered the dead to remain and putrify among the living. The

prison was not opened till the 16th of July, which was the twenty second of their confinement, and from thence the Count was led to the place of arms, where several bands of prisoners, all in chains, were already convened. The order was soon given for their departure for Kiow, and they began their march under the guard of a company, commanded by an ancient Captain of Infantry. The cruelty exercised by the Russian officer towards the unfortunate men under his superintendence was such as can only be imagined by a monster like himself. His brutal disposition caused him to deprive them of half their allowance of bread, the value of which he converted to his own use, and he laid the villages under contribution for exempting them from providing the prisoners with lodging, at the same time that he left them exposed to the heat of the season and the rain in the open air, without tents or any shelter whatever. These unhappy men, emaciated with hunger and covered with wounds, being unable to march as fast as the commander desired, were continually beaten, and the Count himself was not excused, though unable to walk without crutches. This treatment, so infamous and shocking to humanity, caused the destruction of such a number of the prisoners, that out of seven hundred and eighty-two which were put under his conduct at Polone, he brought no more than one hundred and forty-eight to Kiow, the rest being either dead, or abandoned in the forests in a dying state.

On the 4th of August, having at length reached Kiow, a town on the border of Russia, fortified by simple works of earth, the prisoners were again shut up in the casemates, where they experienced the same hardships as at Polone. The strength of the Count's constitution, which had hitherto enabled him to resist such an accumulation of hardships and fatigue, gave way at length, and on the 12th he was attacked with a malignant fever that quickly produced a delirium, which continued till the 8th of September. On the 10th of the same month the governor of Kiow, Count Voieikou, caused the prisoners to pass in review before himself and a commissary, who was charged to take an account of the name and quality of each. The Count, whom they were obliged to carry, had not strength to answer to his name when called in his turn;

whereupon the governor made inquiry respecting his state, and gave immediate orders that he should be separately lodged in a house, and that two roubles a day should be paid him for subsistence. This treatment, by enabling the Count to procure proper diet, soon put him in a fair way of recovery. But at this crisis, unfortunately for him, an order arrived from Petersburgh to send all the prisoners to Cazan, and the Count being forced to make this journey, though he was not compelled to walk, experienced a relapse, which obliged the Russian officer to leave him at Nizym, a town dependent on the government of Kiow. M. Levner, a German merchant of that place, interested himself in favour of the Count, and obtained permission of the Voywode to receive him into his house. The care and attention of this humane and generous friend restored him to health, and enabled him to appear in decent clothes. He should have thought his misfortunes greatly alleviated if he had been permitted to have remained at Nizym; but on the arrival of the second convoy of prisoners the Voywode placed him in charge of the commanding officer. His benefactor, from whom he was then forced to part, had the generosity to present him with the sum of two hundred roubles, which, for fear of being robbed by some of the Russian soldiers, he deposited in the hands of the commander, whose name was Wolkow, with a request that he would keep it for him till his arrival at Cazan. On their arrival at Tula, the Count having occasion to purchase some provisions and other necessaries, requested a few roubles of the commandant in the presence of some of the other prisoners; but the unprincipled wretch not only had the effrontery to deny his having received any money, but likewise treated the Count with the most injurious and abusive language, and from that time used every means in his power to render the rest of the journey uncomfortable to him. He even carried his malice so far that, on their arrival at Cazan, he accused the Count before the governor, Count Krasnin Samaren, of attempting to raise a revolt among the prisoners; and on this accusation he was loaded with chains and committed to prison, from which he was not delivered but at the pressing instances of the Counts Marshal Czarneczky, Potoczky, and the young Pulauzky.

After his deliverance from prison he was lodged with a goldsmith named Vendischov, a native of Sweden, who treated him with great kindness and humanity. The reputation of the Count, and his open disposition, procured him a numerous acquaintance among the Russian nobility; and one day, being invited to dine with a man of quality, he learned, by several particulars of the conversation, that a design was projecting against the Government. Some days afterwards, being invited again in the same company, one of the guests addressed him, and proposed many questions respecting the disposition of the prisoners towards Government; at the same time observing that the governor of Cazan, having no more than four hundred men in garrison, was very uneasy lest the prisoners, whose number amounted to seven thousand, should revolt, and that to prevent so dangerous an event, he had sent to Petersburgh, requesting orders to send them into Siberia. The Count immediately perceived the intention of the person who questioned him, but not thinking it prudent to enter into any conversation by which he might seem to enter into an engagement, he only replied, that the Governor, having a body of brave men under his command, who were armed and in possession of the fortress, had nothing to fear from men worn out with disease, and for the most part actually disabled; but that he doubtless acted prudently in taking every precaution suitable to the office he held. The continuation of this discourse led the Russian at last to declare to the Count that the nobility of many of the governments were greatly discontented with the despotic authority of the Empress, and that, in order to deliver themselves, they were disposed to enter into a confederacy to shake off the yoke of slavery, and become as free as other nations; that the present moment was highly favourable to their designs, because the troops were employed elsewhere, and the clergy, equally discontented, were ready to join the nobility, who besides might easily gain over the Tartars of Cazan, a people naturally disposed to declare in favour of the Turks. He ended his discourse by observing that the Russian nobility likewise depended much on the assistance of the prisoners who were so unworthily treated in their misfortunes.

The Count, without any embarrassment, replied simply, that

the prisoners being without arms, and always kept in sight of their guards, could not dare to make any attempt against Government; but that on recovering their liberty they were disposed to show their gratitude in the most zealous and effectual manner, and that consequently, if they were delivered from their wretched situation, no matter by whom, their deliverers might be assured of their attachment. After this conversation the Count rejoined the company, and was received with such demonstrations of friendship as convinced him that the whole party consisted of malcontents. Immediately after the company broke up the Count waited on his old friend the Marshal Czarneczky, to whom he communicated his discovery. On the following day the Marshal invited several of the superior officers among the prisoners, and revealed the secret to them, in order that by their deliberations it might be decided what mode of proceeding they should adopt in case they should receive any proposals on the part of the discontented nobility. It was accordingly determined in secret committee that the confederates should not enter into any conspiracy against the Government in conjunction with the malcontents, to whom, nevertheless, a promise might be made, that in case they should become masters of the city, the prisoners, being set at liberty, would form a body which should act in concert with their deliverers until the final orders of the generality of the confederation might arrive.

The Count de Benyowsky was entrusted with the management of this affair, which he pursued with the greatest zeal, prudence, and sagacity, in such a manner as not to endanger any of the prisoners, even on the supposition that Government should discover the conspiracy. The malcontents, on the other hand, entered into their pursuit with so much spirit, that they succeeded in bringing over to their party the nobility of the governments of Voronicz, Bielogorod, Kiow, and the greater part of Moscow, the capital of Russia. They only waited for the appearance of the Tartars of Cazan, who had engaged to present themselves before the town of Cazan with nine or ten thousand horse.

Such was the state of affairs on the 6th of November (1769), when a sudden change was produced by a quarrel between two

Russian lords, one of whom informed the governor that the prisoners, in concert with the Tartars, meditated a design against his person and the garrison. This apostate accused the Count, in order to save his friends and countrymen. On the 7th, at eleven at night, the Count, not suspecting any such event, heard a knocking at his door. He came down, entirely undressed, with a candle in his hand, to inquire the cause; and upon opening his door was surprised to see an officer, with twenty soldiers, who demanded if the prisoner were at home. On his replying in the affirmative, the officer snatched the candle out of his hand, and ordering his men to follow him, went hastily up to the Count's apartment.

The Count immediately took advantage of the mistake, quitted his house, and repaired to the quarters of his intimate friend, Major Wynbladth, who was likewise a prisoner. After relating the adventure to him, and engaging him to make his escape together with him, they quitted Cazan, and repaired to the nearest village, where they took horses of the countrymen, with the intention of hastening to Sebuksar. On their arrival at this place they apprised several Russian gentlemen of the discovery of their plot, who, having the strongest reasons to fear the consequences of the Count's being arrested, gave him a *podruschna*, or order for post horses, with money and clothing. From Sebuksar they passed to Kusmoden Janskoy, where they took post, and continued their route as far as Nizney Novogrod, where they gave out that they were officers returning from Kizlar to Petersburg, charged with despatches from the governor. The Voivod had the politeness to invite them to dinner, and treated them elegantly, after which he furnished them with a letter for the Voivod of Volodomir, which was of the greatest service to them, as they certainly would have been arrested if they had not been provided with it. They still continued to urge their course, and passed through Moscow, as well as Twer, Velki-novogrod, and other places, in the night.

At length they arrived at Petersburg on the 19th of November, where the Count took lodgings in an hotel, causing his major to pass in the character of his *valet de chambre*. Upon his first going out he met a German tradesman, by profession an apothecary, who, being given to understand that the Count

was desirous of passing by sea into another country, directed him to the lodgings of a Dutch captain.

The Count accordingly waited on the captain, and begged him to take him and his domestic passenger, promising to pay him five hundred ducats on his arrival in Holland. The captain agreed to receive him on board, and as he was ready to set sail the following day, he appointed the Count to meet on the bridge of Neva about midnight, who accordingly attended there exactly at the time with his companion. While they were waiting the arrival of the captain with the utmost impatience, he at length appeared, and saluted the Count, begging that he would remain on the spot a moment, as he would quickly return, after he had finished some pressing business with his correspondent. He did not fail to return soon after, and beckoned the Count, who hastened to meet him. But at the very instant he was about to express his gratitude to the captain, twenty soldiers seized on him, and knocked him down; after which they conducted him, together with the major, to the Count Csecserin, Lieutenant-General of the Police, who, in a very mild and polite manner, proposed the following questions to the Count:

1. He demanded the birth, country, age, and religion of the Count?

2. Under what power he had served before he became engaged in the confederation?

3. Who had persuaded him to sign the act of confederacy?

4. Whether he did not know that the Court of France furnished money for the payment of the troops of the confederates?

5. Who had engaged him, being a prisoner, to excite the other prisoners to revolt, and what was his design in case he had succeeded in getting possession of Cazan?

6. Whether the other confederate chiefs were concerned in the conspiracy or not, and whether there were not certain Russians engaged with him to carry this abominable plot into execution? their names, and the manner in which the engagement was brought about?

7. After deserting from Cazan, why did the prisoner repair to Petersburg, if he had not some premeditated design?

Whence had he money for making a journey of that length by post, and why did he pretend that his companion was his servant?

8. On the supposition that his design was that of quitting Russia, why did he prefer going to Holland?

The answers of the Count were:—

1. That he was born Magnate of the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, is aged twenty-eight years, and professes the Christian religion.

2. That he served in the Imperial army in quality of officer in the war against the King of Prussia.

3. That in his quality of Staroste, he thought it his duty to assist the republic in shaking off a foreign yoke.

4. That he was ignorant whether or no the Court of France furnished the confederation with money.

5. That he had never excited the prisoners to revolt, his design being no other than that of recovering his own liberty; and that the tyranny and cruelty he had experienced in the prisons had forced him to this attempt; that he never had any intention of seizing the town of Cazan; and therefore he could have no further intentions consequent to the imaginary capture of that town.

6. That in quality of prisoner, it was neither necessary nor expedient that he should become an informer, and consequently that he declined answering the sixth question.

7. That after quitting Cazan he had repaired to Petersburg, for the purpose of more easily quitting the empire by means of some foreign ship; that as he had no other design, he had caused Major Wynbladth to pass as his domestic, that their difficulties and expenses might by that means be diminished.

8. That as to his intention of repairing to Holland, he had no other motive than his having met with a Dutch captain, who promised him his passage, and that it was, besides, of little consequence to him what country he might go to, provided it were out of the dominions of Russia.

After this examination the Count was conveyed to the fort St. Peter and St. Paul, and there confined in a subterraneous dungeon, separate from Major Wynbladth. On the 23rd in the morning, being the third day of his detention, his prison

was opened for the first time, and after three days fast he received a morsel of bread and a pitcher of water. On the same day in the evening he was conducted by an officer and six men from his prison to the minister, Count Panin, who was in his cabinet, and who proposed an hundred questions, one after the other, without giving him time to answer, and at last showing him several papers, from which he affirmed that he was acquainted with all the machinations of the Count, he loaded him with the harshest invectives, advising him to affirm all questions that might be asked in the council, which if he failed to do, he would find himself in a wretched situation. After this mild and friendly advice Count Panin ordered him to be reconducted to his prison, giving directions that he should be loaded with irons.

On the 23rd he was again brought forth, and conducted before the privy council. On his entrance into the place of meeting he beheld twenty Russians seated, each having a sheet of paper before him, and a pen in his hand. Count Panin presided at this council. The person who performed the function of procureur read all the questions which had been made by the Count Csecserin to the Count Benyowsky, and also his answers. Count Panin afterwards ordered the Count Benyowsky to swear that all these answers were conformable to truth, with which he immediately complied. After this preliminary, Count Panin required him to retract his oath, and confess the truth, otherwise he should be put to the torture. This threat, sufficiently horrid to shake the fortitude of the most innocent person, irritated the Count, who replied to the Minister, that, as a judge, it ill became him to perform the office of executioner; that justice ought never to have recourse to punishment before conviction of the accused; and that the council having proposed to the Count to purge himself by oath, it was necessary that his conviction should be founded on proofs that his oath was false, or that otherwise every violent proceeding against him would be an act of barbarity, to which he never could believe that her Majesty the Empress would give her sanction. This answer of the Count, which was written down word for word by the secretary, caused several members of the council to vindicate him against the opinion of Count

Panin. These gentlemen observed, that the prisoner, having been convicted of nothing but an attempt to desert, could not be condemned as a state criminal. This observation produced a dispute between the assessors, and the Count was conducted back to his prison; from which he was again brought forth on the morning of the 25th, and conducted before the council, where he was confronted with a Russian gentleman, whom the Governor of Cazan had sent to Petersburg to be examined by the council. This wretch was the same who had accused the Count to the governor of Cazan. He maintained before the council that the Count knew of the plot which the Russians had formed against the Government, that he had encouraged them, and that he himself was the person who had promised the discontented party to assist them with all the prisoners. The president ordered the Count to answer this accusation which he did by freely affirming that he had, in several companies of the nobility, heard proposals treated of against the Governor of Cazan. That these noblemen had actually made formal propositions to him to become connected with the party of malcontents, and to engage all the prisoners in their interest; but that as his situation as a prisoner did not require him to abandon his principles and betray them, he had kept the secret; and as far as related to the propositions made to him by the malcontents, he had answered without hesitation, that the prisoners would not engage in any attempt against the Government of Cazan, and still less against the interests of the Empress; that it did not become them to intermeddle in the pretentions of the Russian nobility, who alone were to decide their own quarrel, and that the prisoners would patiently suffer their fate, though the discontented nobility might depend upon their services, in the single case only that they should first set them at liberty.

The Russian himself acknowledged that this account was true; after which the Count was returned to prison till the 29th, when he was brought before the council to receive his final judgment. At the commencement of this sitting the president threatened the Count to put him to the torture; but, being unable to urge any crime but that of desertion against him, he proposed to the Count to sign a resignation, by which

he obliged himself never to serve against the Russians; to quit the empire without delay; and never to return, on pain of death. Under these conditions Count Panin promised him his liberty. Count Benyowsky did not hesitate to sign his resignation, of which the following is the purport:—

"I, the undersigned, do acknowledge that, having been seized in my flight from Cazan, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias having pardoned me by her natural clemency, I have entered into the present renunciation, never to serve any power against the arms of her Imperial Majesty; and that, upon becoming in possession of my liberty, I promise for ever to quit her dominions, obliging myself, under pain of death, not to enter them again under any pretext whatever. Done at Petersburg, the 22nd of November, 1769."

The Count, after having signed this engagement, instead of being set at liberty was reconducted to his prison, and there confined till the 4th of December, when, about two hours after midnight, an officer with seven soldiers came to him, giving orders that they should take off his chains and clothe him in a sheepskin garment; after which his fetters were again fastened on, and he was conducted into the court of the prison and thrown upon a sledge, to which two horses were harnessed, which immediately set out with the greatest swiftness. The darkness did not permit the Count to discern the objects around him, but the noise of many bells led him to think that he was followed by several sledges, a circumstance which excited a long train of reflections on the fatality and singular circumstances of his destiny.

At the beginning of his journey he conceived some hopes that he was to be conducted into Poland; but at daybreak the sight of several villages through which he had passed after his departure from Cazan destroyed that hope, and convinced him that he was on his way to Siberia as an exile.

When they rested at noon the Count received a morsel of dry bread, and on descending from his sledge to mount into another, he perceived Major Wynbladth, who was the companion of his misfortunes. The excessive cold caused the Count to suffer much pain from his wounds, and he was almost frozen when the commander of the convoy made him dismount

to pass the night in a cottage. When he recovered the use of his faculties he perceived that he was in company with Major Wynbladth, who not being wounded was better able to support the rigour of the season. In this common state of misfortune it was some consolation that they could see each other and communicate their reflections.

The Russian commander, Prince Maneow, Lieutenant of the troops of the Senate, being affected with their deplorable situation, informed them, in confidence, that his orders were to conduct them to Moscow, from whence they were afterwards to be carried to Tobolsk, and thence to Kamchatka, the place of their exile. He had likewise the politeness to cause them to eat with him.

When they arrived near Moscow their conductor quitted then, and returned with sledges, and a detachment of sixteen soldiers, headed by a lieutenant, who relieved the Prince Maneow, conducted them forward on their journey. On the 13th of December they arrived at Volodomir, where they were joined by four sledges with four exiles, likewise destined to pass the remainder of their lives at Kamchatka, and from that station they had the consolation of their company. The Count, who was well acquainted with the Russian language, made inquiries concerning these four prisoners. The one was Vassili Vassilics Panow, Lieutenant of the Guards; the second Hippolite Stepanow, Captain of Infantry; the third Asaph Baturin, Colonel of Artillery; and the fourth Ivan Juanies Solmanow, Secretary of the Senate of Moscow. Their escort consisted of forty-six soldiers of Volodomir, under whom they were conducted to Nizney Novogrod, where they arrived on the 18th, and from thence they were drawn to Kuzemodem-jazkoy, a town where their guard was reinforced with one hundred and fifty horsemen, to pass more securely through the government of Cazan, at that time disturbed by the incursions of the Tartars, who, since the departure of the Count, had already committed several acts of hostility, and with whom a party of the prisoners deserted from Cazan had taken refuge. These circumstances occasioned the commander of their party not to stop in any of the villages, but to make the best of his way to the town of Malmitz, situated on the banks of the

river Viattka, where the reinforcement left them. From Malmitz they were drawn to Saragut, and thence to Kunzir, from Kunzir to Tuninkz, and from thence to Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia, distant seven hundred and eighty leagues from Petersburg.

On their arrival they were lodged in the town, each separately with his guard. The Governor, Count Denis Juanovicz Csecserin, brother of the Lieutenant-General of the Police of Petersburg, a man as remarkable for his humanity, as for the politeness of his behaviour, not only caused the irons of the exiles to be taken off, but likewise afforded them every kind of assistance, even to the furnishing them with linen; and as he was affected with the misery of these unfortunate men, he granted them his permission to pass fourteen days in the town, to recover their health, which was much impaired by hunger and the inclemency of the season. During the whole time that the prisoners remained at Tobolsk they were furnished with provisions from his own kitchen, and on their departure he presented each of them with the sum of fifty roubles, with a quantity of brandy, and likewise five hundred pounds of tobacco, an article of great value at Kamchatka.

We shall here terminate the narrative which we have collected of the adventures of the Count, and shall relate the sequel as it is written with his own hand.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—The Count arrives at Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia—Humanity of the Governor—Departure from that place—Villages on the road—City of Tara—River and town of Tomsky—The Tartars interest themselves in favour of the Exiles—A proposal is made to the Count to escape to China, to which his wounds prevent his acceding—Present to the Exiles from the Tartars—Disinterested behaviour of their conductor.

I WAS born of an illustrious family in Hungary, and served the states of the republic of Poland with some distinction, under whose colours I had the misfortune to be made prisoner by the Russians in open war, after receiving seventeen wounds. This unfortunate event subjected me to every calamity which tyranny can inflict. I was conveyed from one prison to another, and at last condemned to the unhappy state of slavery. In consequence of the order of the Russian Senate for my banishment, I was loaded with fetters and conducted to Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia, consisting of about five hundred houses, inhabited by Russians and Tartars. It stands at the foot of a mountain, on the top of which is a castle, commanding the town, and serving as a place of residence for the Governor.

The garrison of this town usually consists of two regiments of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and two or three hundred Cossacks. The Governor of Tobolsk, Count Denis Juanovicz Csecserin, a man equally estimable for the humanity and generosity of his disposition, caused my fetters to be taken off the first day of my arrival, and, after providing me with a lodging, heaped many favours upon me and Mr. Wynbladth, the companion of my misfortunes. This gentleman was a major under the confederation, who having shared in my

former adventures was likewise the partner of my banishment. The greatest favour which I obtained from the Governor was, doubtless, the use of pen and paper, to dissipate my cares. Precious instrument, which can give the shadow of liberty where the substance exists not! Inestimable gift of art, whose value can be truly estimated by those only who have felt thy loss! With thee I shall still possess the enjoyments of the mind; and by thy assistance my misfortunes and complaints may be transmitted to future times!

I arrived at Tobolsk on the 20th of January, 1770, and as I did not quit this town till the 4th of February, the benevolence and care of the Governor enabled me to recover my health and strength to support the voyage with greater courage. The Governor, after having loaded me with marks of his favour, which was likewise extended to my five companions, dispatched us for our place of destination, under the escort of a Sottnik of Cossacks, with twenty-four men under his command; at the same time he informed us that our conductor had orders to treat us with kindness. We departed from Tobolsk with sixteen sledges, so that we had a sledge for every two excepting the commander, who had one for himself. The first pause we made was at Sobulak, a village inhabited entirely by Tartars. Our commander lodged us all with him in a house, and promised that this should be the case throughout the journey. We eat with him, and the Cossacks might have been taken for our servants, from the particular attention which our conductor ordered them to pay us. His example caused the whole troop to omit no means of rendering our journey as agreeable and as comfortable as could be expected in a state of slavery.

On the 5th we departed from Jubalak to continue our journey, and at noon we rested near a river named Supkra to refresh our horses. Our conductor informed us, while his troop was employed in procuring some provisions from the neighbouring villages, that he was the son of a Swedish colonel, who had had the misfortune to be banished, and that he himself, being a native of Siberia, had been enrolled among the Cossacks, over whom he at present was Sottnik, or commander of one hundred men; that since his promotion he had always

endeavoured to obtain the charge of the exiles which were to be conducted into Siberia, as it gave him the greatest satisfaction to have an opportunity of alleviating their misfortunes. The free and open manner with which this officer expressed himself sufficiently showed that he spoke his real sentiments, and it was a great consolation to us to find ourselves under the direction of a virtuous and compassionate man. From Supkra we continued our journey along the banks of the river Irtisch, and arrived at the small town of Berenowzky, where we passed the night. At this place we found twenty exiles, who treated us with fish. These unfortunate men assured us that in the single province of Tobolsky there were upwards of twenty-two thousand exiles, reduced to seek their maintenance by the chase. From Berenowzky we departed on the 6th, and arrived very late in the night at Isirga, a village composed of about fifteen houses, inhabited by exiles; among whom I recognised an Hungarian, who informed me that he had been major of one of the regiments of Hussars in the Russian service, commanded by General Horvath; and that he had the misfortune to be banished for requesting his dismission, in order to return into his own country. He assured me that he was a gentleman of the family of Orosz. As I ran no risk in conversing with this unfortunate person in the Hungarian language, which was understood by no one present but him and myself, I asked him many questions, and among others, how it happened that so great a number of exiles, reduced to the most extreme misery, had not yet made some attempts to escape; to which he answered, that a considerable number of their companions had already attempted to escape towards Persia, but having been met by the Nogais Tartars they were all slain, and that this event had intimidated the others, and prevented them from following their example. Besides which he informed me of so many obstacles, that at last I was convinced of the great difficulty of escaping from exile at Tobolsk, and reflected with great satisfaction that my destination was to Kamchatka, on the sea coast, though I am persuaded that there is no country whatever in which liberty may not be gained by an association of resolute men, inspired with the love of independence.

On the 7th, after having passed the river Isirga, we arrived at Juska, a village inhabited by Tartars, who regaled us with mare's milk and horse flesh. The excessive cold and the wind, which threw up the snow in whirlwinds and drifts, forced our commander to remain at this village four days. We quitted it on the 11th early in the morning, and about noon we rested on the banks of a river, over which we forded, and from whence we proceeded to Ahusca, a village situated on the banks of a river of the same name, which falls into the river Irtisch. Here we passed the night, and the next proceeded to Tara, the capital of the province of the same name. The commander of our troop proposed to pass some days in this town, on account of the severity of the weather, as well as that we might rest ourselves, and be better enabled to support the fatigues of the rest of our journey, which was to be made without sledges. During our stay at Tara the commandant allowed us the liberty of walking in the town, and even in the environs: his friendly disposition towards us extended so far, that he prevailed on the Voivode to invite us to dinner, and afterwards persuaded several of the inhabitants to make us presents. These consisted of habits for the season, and a considerable quantity of brandy.

On the 22nd we at length quitted Tara, and after having repassed the river Irtisch, we arrived at Luky, a village inhabited by Tartars; from whence we continued through immense woods and over lofty mountains, where we all suffered greatly from fatigue, and more especially myself, who was covered with wounds. Our day's journeys were very short, our nights passed in the midst of snow, and our horses had no other food than moss. On the 3rd of April, being encamped on the river Om, we were surprised by a band of Tartars of the horde of Barabuts. On their first appearance we requested the commandant to supply us with arms to defend ourselves, and immediately mounted our horses. The Tartars approached, observed us for a moment, and passed by, full gallop, without molesting us. After their departure we crossed the river Om, and continued our march to the river Juakra, on the borders of which we pitched our tents. At daybreak, just at the moment we mounted our horses, we discovered a troop of

armed men on foot, who called out to us, in the Russian language, to wait for them, which our conductor caused us to do. On their arrival they saluted us, and afterwards addressing our chief, they proposed many questions respecting our situation, which, when they learned, they condoled with us, and informed us that they were our partners in misfortune, having been exiled into Siberia, and that for ten years past they had subsisted merely by the chase and fishing. Their number amounted to sixty-three men, who apparently had some enterprise in contemplation. Our commander, who was apprehensive of bad consequences from their company, proposed to part, but they compelled him to remain three days on the spot.

These huntsmen, finding our provision of brandy excellent, did not suffer us to depart but with regret: at length, however, being delivered from these importunate people, we quitted the river Juakra, and marched towards Bogorodekoy, where we arrived on the 11th. From Bogorodekoy we crossed the river Oby, and on the 17th we arrived at Tomszky, a town regularly enough built, but peopled for the most part with Tartars. It is situated on the banks of the river Tomszky, and for its defence is provided with a kind of fort, in which the Voivode of the province resides, with four hundred soldiers and eight hundred Cossacks. The governor's name was Villeneuf, of French origin, Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of Russia, and formerly an exile. He received us with humanity, and by the persuasion of our conductor, permitted us to remain in the town till the 10th of May, in order to avoid the inclemency of the season, which was so much the more dangerous, as the weather is always extremely wet at the latter end of April and the beginning of May.

We passed our time not disagreeably at Tomszky, because the Tartars, being informed by our conductor that we had had the misfortune to be made prisoners of war when fighting in conjunction with the Turkish army, made it a point of religion to assist us. Among others, a dealer in sables interested himself more particularly in my welfare. He proposed to me to make my escape towards China, and expressed his readiness to run the risk of accompanying me. He informed me that he was born

in the horde of Kantay, in the country of Kalkaz, on the borders of China, and was perfectly acquainted with the road thither. I should have accepted his proposal with joy, if the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of travelling at least three hundred leagues on foot had not detained me. The deplorable situation to which my wounds had reduced me was sufficient to convince him of the impossibility of my accepting his proposition. He therefore loaded me with presents, which, whether they came from him alone, or from the whole body of Tartars of Tomszky, amounted to more than nine hundred roubles, a sum which we divided amongst us, and out of which we were desirous of making a present to our conductor. But this generous man refused to accept of the smallest trifle, and assured us that on our arrival at Kamchatka we should find sufficient occasion for our money.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Tomszky—Juska Krasnoiarszk—Illimsk—Price current of European goods and furs at that place—Jakutzk—Privileged company of traders in furs—The Count projects his future escape in concert with M. Hoffman—A society of exiles formed—They depart for Jakutzk, leaving M. Hoffman behind—Their guards quarrel—Alarming consequence of Mr. Hoffman's death—Its effects happily prevented.

ON the 11th of May we at length quitted the town of Tomszky, and passed through a desert country covered with woods and mountains, always encamped in the snow, and after fourteen days most painful march we were necessitated to reduce our allowance to half a pound of biscuit per day. Being thus exhausted by hunger and fatigue, after losing eight Cossacks and twelve horses on the road, we at length arrived on the 18th at Juska Krasnoiarszk, a town situated on the banks of the great river Jenisea: it consists of about thirty houses, inhabited by Russian exiles; the fort, more properly called the miserable intrenchment, in which the house of the Voivode is built, is a raised square surrounded with palisades, and the garrison which defends it is composed only of twenty soldiers, who are likewise exiles.

The Voivode of this province, famous for its misery, lodged us in his fortress, and did not condescend to see us until our conductor had informed him that we intended making him a present. This news, which our conductor likewise communicated to us, occasioned the Governor to invite us to supper; and he did not disdain the acceptance of sixty roubles as a present, and for a like sum he sold us a small barrel of brandy, containing about eighteen bottles.

On the 19th in the morning the Voivode pressed our con-

ductor to depart, and we quitted this place about noon. The continuation of our journey was not more agreeable than that from Tomszky. No object presented itself to our eyes but an immense plain of snow, here and there interrupted by mountains. Every succeeding day became more fatiguing. We lost almost all our horses, and we passed the two chains of mountains which separate the government of Illimsk from that of Jeniseisk,* almost dying with hunger, having no other subsistence than the bark of the birch tree steeped in water. At length, however, we arrived on the 25th of July, and the twenty-sixth day of our march, on the banks of the river Angara, where we had the good fortune to meet a horde of Tungus Tartars, who gave us four elks, with a provision of dry fish, in exchange for tobacco and brandy.

On the 26th we arrived at Illimsk, the capital of the province of the same name, situated on the banks of the river Illima. This town possesses a considerable trade, arising from the quantity of furs deposited here, which the exiles keep till the arrival of the Russian merchants, who purchase them in exchange for European provisions and export them to China. They usually gain 200 per cent. on the merchandises of Europe, and on their arrival at China they again redouble their profit on the furs. The following is nearly the rate at which the merchandise of Europe is sold to the hunters and exiles of this place: one pound of gunpowder, three roubles; one pound of tobacco, one rouble and a half; forty pounds of flour, five roubles; ten pounds of butter, six roubles; a barrel of brandy of eighteen pints, fifty roubles; and in proportion to these values they barter or purchase one sable's skin for one rouble; one black fox's skin, three roubles; one bear's skin, half a rouble; fifty skins of the northern squirrel (petit gris),

* The river Angara is the outlet of Lake Baikal, and flows north-east until it falls into the great Yenisei river, of which it is the most important affluent, near the town of Eniseisk in Lat. 58°. Benyowsky must have crossed the Angara somewhere in Lat. 57°, where the Angara, according to Pallas, is called by the natives Toungouska, above the junction of the Ilim river.

Illimsk lies between the Angara and the upper waters of the Lena, which are here very near to one another, the Lena taking its sources from the mountains north of Lake Baikal.

one rouble; one hundred skins of the white rabbit, one rouble; twenty-four skins of ermines, one rouble, &c., &c.

The Voivode of this province, after having supplied us with six elks and twenty pounds of flour for our provision, despatched us to Ustkotskoy, a village situated on the banks of the Lena, where we embarked in canoes made of the bark of the birch, in order to hasten our journey. We passed down the river Lena, which runs by Jakutszk, and after running through all the northern part of Siberia empties itself into the frozen sea. Our voyage by water was very commodious and agreeable, on account of the beauty of the season, and we happily arrived at Jakutszk on the 20th of August, where we were all lodged in one house, having for our guard only four soldiers, commanded by a sergeant who relieved our conductor.

The town of Jakutszk, which is situated in the sixty-second degree of north latitude, is the capital of a province of the same name. It is composed of one hundred and thirty houses and a fortress, the whole built of wood, and inhabited either by exiles or Cossacks, a kind of military which the Government has formed by enrolling all the male children of the Swedes and Germans formerly exiled into Siberia. This troop is usually employed by Government to levy tribute on the Tartars who are subject to Russia. Their number in the year 1764 amounted to twelve thousand armed men.

During our stay at this place I became acquainted with several Greek merchants to whom the Empress had granted the exclusive privilege of the fur trade in this province in consideration of the sum of thirty thousand roubles. They assured me they had already gained above eighty thousand roubles besides the purchase money; but that being obliged to share that sum with governors and ministers for the support of their rights, this trade had not been extremely advantageous, especially since the war with Turkey had during the last three years interrupted the freedom of commerce. I likewise became acquainted with several exiles, from whom I learned that there were thirty-five officers exiled in that town, and that their number in that single province amounted to four hundred and twenty-five men. All these unfortunate persons lamented the departure of Mons. de Brin, a Frenchman,

colonel in the service of Russia, who had during five years been Voivode of the province, and who, unfortunately for them, had been relieved by a Russian as remarkable for his cruelty and barbarity as his predecessor was for his generosity and goodness.

On the third day after my arrival in this city I received a visit from the Sieur Hoffman, a surgeon, who was sent from Petersburg to Kamchatka to exercise his profession as surgeon-major of the Government, with a salary of one thousand five hundred roubles. At our first meeting I perceived from his conversation that he possessed a penetrating mind and a worthy and amiable disposition. The account I gave of my misfortunes, and the excess of barbarity under which I had long suffered, affected him greatly; and as he considered his mission to Kamchatka as an exile, he did not hesitate to propose, without any previous overture from me, his opinion that on our arrival at Kamchatka we should direct our attention to an escape by the way of sea either to Japan or China; and that he saw no other difficulty than the procuring sailors to conduct the vessel which he proposed to purchase under the pretence of employing it in fishing. This proposition convinced me that he was determined to share my fate. I therefore assured him that he needed not be uneasy with regard to navigating the vessel, because I was sufficiently capable of undertaking that task by virtue of the experience I had acquired during several voyages. I likewise informed him that it was with the greatest satisfaction that I learned his resolution, which I had myself conceived and formed from the first instant that I heard that Kamchatka was the place of my exile; and that provided he continued in the same opinion, and kept the most profound secrecy, I would answer for its success.

From that day our discourse was continually directed to the means of securing our escape. I ran no hazard in making this proposal to my companions, who, during the whole journey, had shown me the most particular respect, which was increased by the junction of Mr. Hoffman, who united himself to us by oath.

On the 29th of August the company elected me their chief;

it was composed of Mr. Hoffman, Major Winbladth, Captain Panow, Captain Hippolite Stephano, Colonel Baturin, and Secretary Sopronow. The ardent desire which we all had to carry our design into execution induced us to use our endeavours with the Voivode to dispatch us to Ochoczk, a seaport in Siberia, from whence we were to embark for Kamchatka. He readily acceded to our wishes, and dispatched us on the 29th of the same month under the guard of two Szottnik, or captains, with twelve Cossacks under their command. Mr. Hoffman unfortunately could not depart with us, on account of the necessity of carrying his effects with him. On our departure from Jakutzk we were attended by most of the exiles, who regaled us with a good dinner on the banks of the river Lena. Among these unhappy men were two Russian lords, of the family of Gurgiew, both young, who, after having served in the guards of the Empress, were exiled by her orders on the death of the late Emperor. The new manner of travelling on sledges drawn by elks was very agreeable to us. The swiftness and agility with which these animals run can hardly be conceived, and their manner of subsisting is still more surprising: a handful of moss mixed with urine enables them to support the fatigue of three or four days.

The sixth day after our departure we arrived on the banks of the river Tola, where we were obliged to remain two days, because our conductor thought proper to employ that time in visiting the Tartar chiefs of the horde Jakutti to extort presents from them, of which they brought a tolerable large quantity in skins of martins, foxes, and roszomak, an animal peculiar to this province. Its figure nearly resembles that of the European wolf, and its skin has the same appearance, excepting that its colour is a glossy black. The women in Siberia make bonnets of this skin.

On the 3rd of September we passed the river Tola, and continued our journey without interruption thus far, excepting a difference which happened among our conductors during the time our camp was pitched on the banks of this river, where they made a stop for the purpose of gambling, an occupation which they had strenuously followed ever since our departure from Jakutzk. One of the Cossacks, having lost all his pro-

visions in play against the chief, thought proper to indulge himself in some disrespectful expressions, upon which the Commander ordered the Cossacks to tie him up and give him one hundred lashes with the whip. Instead, however, of executing the orders of their commander, the Cossacks took the part of the culprit, and after having stripped their officer naked, entertained him with more than three hundred stripes, an operation which, though we bore no part in it, nevertheless afforded us some diversion.

This adventure was quickly followed by an event which greatly alarmed us. We were informed by a Cossack, sent express from Jakutzk, that Mr. Hoffman was dead, and that after his decease the Governor had found certain interesting papers among his effects, which he had forwarded to the Governor of Ochoczk in a packet, to be put into the hands of our conductor, addressed to Mr. Plenisner, Commandant of that town, recommending to him not to send us to Kamchatka. This relation convinced us that the Sieur Hoffman had either written some letters to his friends at Petersburg, in which he informed them of his project, or that he had made some notes relative to our affair. After many suppositions, we concluded that the Governor at least suspected our project, if he was not entirely convinced of it, and that he had sent dispatches to the Governor of Ochoczk, in consequence of which it was probable we might be sent to prison a second time. In this situation I proposed to my companions to seize the packet and change the contents, by the assistance of Mr. Sophronow, who, having been secretary, might draw up a letter to our advantage, to be included among the other papers. My proposition was accepted by my companions, and we immediately determined to avail ourselves of every means of executing it. An opportunity soon after presented itself. On the 11th of September, as we were passing the river Aldan in boats, our elks at the same time swimming over, the boat in which our conductor was placed with his dispatches was overset by the malice of the Cossacks, who, after having well flogged him, were desirous of playing another trick to disembarrass themselves entirely of his company. It was a happy circumstance for him that he was a good swimmer, and quickly reached the shore. The readiness

with which I ran to his assistance, and the suspicions he had of his Cossacks, led him to attach himself to me, and that more especially because he observed that my companions treated me with respect, and of course that I might be very useful in defending him in case the Cossacks should hereafter make any attempts against his safety.

This rough passage over the river Aldan obliged our conductors to halt in order to dry their clothes, and I seized the occasion to treat them with brandy, at the same time that I engaged them in a gaming party. My stratagem succeeded so well that, after having consumed nine pints of brandy, they every one fell asleep. During this period of insensibility we seized the dispatches, which we found drawn up in such terms as were calculated to render our captivity extremely wretched, and showed that we had every reason to congratulate ourselves on the lucky chance which offered itself. The letter of the commandant of Jakutzk to the commanding officer of Ochoczk was to the following effect:—

"The two Szottnik, Kolosow and Rostarguew, conduct six prisoners of State, sent by order of the Senate as exiles to Kamchatka, whom you are desired to confine in prison without delay, and keep them safe until you shall receive from me more ample information respecting their conduct and designs, in order that you may then examine them with the utmost strictness. My present knowledge respecting them is as follows: On their arrival at Jakutzk I took pity on them, and allowed them the liberty of walking about the town; but they abused my favour by exciting several of the exiles to revolt, and one in particular among them, named Maurice Augustovicz, has been artful enough to gain over to his interests the surgeon Hoffman, who promised to join with him at Kamchatka, to procure a ship, that they might deliver all the exiles of Kamchatka. I was informed of this abominable project by one of the exiles to whom the Sieur Hoffman had spoken in confidence before his decease. I have found several papers among his effects after his death which I do not understand, because written in the German language, but which I send you, in hopes that you may be able to discover their contents. Supposing, however, that these wretches have no other design than that of making their escape, which,

however, I do not conceive to be the case, it becomes necessary to look strictly after them, and I advise you not to send them to Kamchatka this year. I shall transmit an account of this event in my first dispatches to the Senate, and request their orders, which you cannot receive in less than a year."

We examined the other papers of the Sieur Hoffman, but found nothing which tended to betray us. There was no other paper among the dispatches but the Governor's letter which could have injured us, for which reason we contented ourselves with changing it for another to the following tenor :—

"Sir,—The two Szottnik, Kolosow and Rostarguew, conduct six prisoners of State, sent into exile to Kamchatka, by order of the Senate. After I became acquainted with them, I found their behaviour such as led me to interest myself in their favour, and convinced me that they are all men of honour, especially the two foreigners, who are merely prisoners of war. My disposition to assist the unfortunate induces me to write to you in their favour. Is it not practicable to allow them a certain degree of liberty in your town to preserve them from the scurvy, a disorder which is so dangerous in your port? You will run no risk in allowing these unfortunate men a certain degree of liberty, for it is impossible that they should make an ill use of your confidence. The surgeon Hoffman, who was about to repair to Kamchatka, is dead, and I have no person to appoint in his place. One of these prisoners is of the same profession. I see no inconvenience in recommending him to the Governor of Kamchatka, who, being unprovided, will, doubtless, be glad to avail himself of his services. The papers which accompany this belong to the late Mr. Hoffman. I send them that you may procure a translation, and afford some explanation relative to his property, as I have reason to think he possessed some share in the company of hunters. With every wish for your prosperity, I am, &c."

After having thus carried our project into execution, we dismissed our fears, and our satisfaction was complete when we were assured, after the waking of our conductors, that they had not observed any alteration in the packets. We continued our journey peaceably enough to the river Inna, on the banks of which we arrived on the 20th of September. The

prodigious quantity of fish which we observed in this river caused us to remain on the spot two days, when we departed with a considerable provision of fish, and continued our journey constantly due east. We passed over very lofty mountains and dreadful precipices. The cold was so extreme near the summits of the mountains, that two of our conductors were frozen to death.

CHAPTER III.

Village of Judoma—Sledges drawn by dogs—Arrival at Ochoczk—Description of that town and harbour—State of its commerce—The exiles embark for Kamchatka—Their dangerous passage.

ON the 29th we arrived at a village composed of six houses, inhabited by exiles, and situated on the banks of the river Judoma. At this place we were provided with sledges drawn by dogs for the rest of our journey to Ochoczk. Though Judoma is composed only of six wretched houses, the place is well known, because it is the rendezvous of several Tunguse nations, and some hordes of Mongols, who repair thither to trade with the hunters. It is by this contraband intercourse that the most beautiful skins pass into China without paying any duties; and it would be difficult for Government to put a stop to it, because all the Cossacks and their chiefs are interested. In the month of November they meet at Judoma, to the number of four or five hundred armed men; besides which it is a part of the policy of Government to wink at this contravention, as it would be dangerous to excite the Siberians to revolt; the slightest disturbance would arm the inhabitants, and, if this should once happen, Siberia would be for ever lost to Russia.

After our departure from Judoma we passed over a dreadful chain of mountains, where we were excessively fatigued, because we were entirely ignorant of the manner of driving the dogs. More than once I fell down descents of above sixty feet in depth, together with the dogs and sledges; but it is one fortunate circumstance, that in this country there is no falling but among snow, so that I suffered little more on these occasions than a few bruises. When we had crossed the mountains our

journey was more agreeable, for we passed without danger along the banks of the river Urak, where, if my situation had been less wretched, I might have received some pleasure from the prospect around me. It consisted of immense mountains, standing separate on the vast extent of a sea of snow: a view which affected the mind with a sense of magnificence and terror united.

On the 16th of October we at last arrived at Ochoczk, where we were immediately conducted to the Chancery, and thence to our respective quarters, with four Cossacks and an attamen or corporal as guards for each. The commanding officer of this town, and of the whole province, was Mr. Plenisner, a native of Courland, exiled in the time of the Empress Elizabeth. I cannot determine whether we were indebted to our stratagem of counterfeiting a letter from the Voivode of Jakutzk, or to his natural disposition, for the goodness he showed to us. On the first day of our arrival we were very commodiously lodged in the houses of townspeople who were in very good circumstances, and it was at the same time intimated to us that we might enjoy full liberty, and go out whenever we pleased, provided we took a guard with us.

The town of Ochoczk is situated in fifty-nine degrees seventeen minutes north latitude, and three hundred and forty-eight degrees ten minutes longitude, from the meridian of Kamchatka. It is very indifferently built of wood, and stands on the banks of the river Ochota, the mouth of which is defended by what they call a fortress, though it is nothing more than a simple square surrounded with palisades, and provided with a four-pounder at each angle. The garrison of this fortress is nevertheless composed of four hundred and eighty soldiers, all exiles from the European troops. The town contains three hundred and twenty-two houses, inhabited by exiles, who, since the year 1741, the time of the expedition of Captain Beering, have applied themselves to sea affairs.

Two years before my arrival a battery had been erected on the point of land which closes the entrance of the river, in order to defend the town from the incursions of the independent Koraks and Tsuktsy, two savage nations who inhabit the northern part of the province, and are irreconcilable enemies

of the Russians. They maintain a correspondence with the subjected Koraks and the Tunguses, which circumstance finds Government sufficient business to prevent their confederation. The disposition of these people caused an alarm in the Government during my stay; for thirty Cossacks having deserted from Ochoczk gave them reason to fear that their design was to collect these nations together; but this apprehension was dissipated by the information which was received, that the deserters had directed their course towards the river Amur.

The port of Ochoczk, which at the deepest contains no more than nineteen feet of water, is formed by the river Ochota, which in its course has worn a bay. The entrance is N. ¼ W. I found in the port two vessels of two hundred and fifty tons each, and eleven others, the largest of which was three hundred and fifty tons burthen, and the smallest eighty. These vessels were designed either to make discoveries on the coast of California, or to carry provisions to the different ports of Kamchatka, or were freighted by individuals who make expeditions in the islands Kurilles, Aleuthes, and Alaksa, to chase beavers, foxes, and bears. The harbourmaster, Lieutenant Sind, informed me that during the last year the Captains Kreniczen * and Levascheff, who were sent by order of the Empress on a voyage of discovery, had armed two vessels, one the *St. Peter and St. Paul*, and the other named the *Elizabeth*, with which they departed to examine the coast of California; but that they returned without doing anything, under the pretence that their crews had mutinied, though the true reason for their want of success consisted in their ignorance and want of experience.

Being desirous of profiting by my stay in this place, I inquired of different persons concerning the interests of Russia, the population of Siberia, the history of the country, the customs, manners and usages of its inhabitants, their prejudices, and treaties between one nation and another; but as this subject is in some respect foreign to the purpose intended in

* In Coxe's History, p. 205, "On the 23rd of July, 1768, Captain Krenitzin sailed in the galliot *Ste. Catherine* from Kantchatka towards America, accompanied by Lieutenant Levashef in the hooker *Ste. Paul*." *Vide infra*, where the death of Krenitzin is referred to.

the present narrative, I shall content myself with annexing my ideas in the form of a supplement to the present memoir, and shall only observe in this place that Ochoczk and Kamchatka are become places of great importance to Russia, from the yearly increase of revenue their commerce affords to that empire. The following is a short statement of what I learned from the Secretary of the Chancery: The importation of beaver* skins, one year with another, amounts to sixteen thousand; of sables twenty-three thousand; of ermines one hundred and eighty-four thousand; of black foxes† two thousand five hundred; of *rossomaks* seven thousand; of the common fox fourteen thousand; of the northern squirrel thirty-six thousand; of *pesci* and rabbits twenty-five thousand; of sea-wolves six thousand; and of bears four or five thousand. These articles are conveyed to Jeniseisk, in exchange for brandy, tobacco, flour, coarse cloth, silk, &c., the intrinsic value of which does not exceed two hundred thousand roubles, though the amount of the sale of the furs in China is near two millions of roubles. From this statement it is evident that Russia cannot but gain immense capitals by this commerce.

The time of my stay at Ochoczk was very agreeable; but as I had reason to fear that the Governor of Jakutzk would discover our plot in his next despatches, I persuaded my companions unanimously to request orders for our departure, and to engage the Governor to dismiss us for Kamchatka as soon as possible. This officer was likewise urged by its being the season to despatch vessels to Kamchatka, and accordingly embarked us on board the packet *St. Peter and St. Paul*,‡ of

* "Of all these furs the skins of the sea-otters are the richest and most valuable. Those animals resort in great numbers to the Aleutian and Fox Islands; they are called by the Russians Bolori Morski, or sea-beavers, and sometimes Kantchatkal beavers, on account of the resemblance of their fur to that of the common beaver. From these circumstances several authors have been led into a mistake, and have supposed that this animal is of the beaver species; whereas it is the true sea-otter [*Lutra Marina*]." Coxe's *Siberia*, p. 12.

† "There are several species of foxes; of these the principle are the *Petsi*, or Arctic foxes." "The Arctic or ice foxes are very common upon some of the newly-discovered islands. They are called *Petsi* by the Russians, and by the Germans blue foxes."

‡ The *St. Peter and St. Paul* was first fitted out in the year 1764 by Jacob Ulednikof, merchant of Irkutsk, under command of Ivan Soloviof (*Coxe*).

two hundred and forty tons burthen, with eight pieces of cannon and forty-three men, commanded by the Sieurs Esuryn and Korostilow; their lading was one hundred and forty-two sacks of flour, each containing one hundred pounds; two hundred barrels of brandy, each containing twenty-five pints; and the rest of the cargo belonged to several merchants, by whom it was freighted. On our arrival on board we were received very roughly by the second in command, who, after having indulged himself in a set of invectives, caused us to be chained and confined before the mast, with orders to employ us in the meanest labour. As we had already been accustomed to a small portion of liberty, our situation afflicted us not a little; but it lasted only one day, for on the arrival of the captain we were delivered from our fetters, and had the satisfaction to see our enemy punished with fifty strokes of the knout for having acted without orders.

The journal of our navigation is not sufficiently interesting to be given in detail; I shall, therefore, speak only of the leading circumstances. On the 22nd of November we dropped down the river to its mouth, where we moored in two fathoms and three-quarters water, the wind being north. On the 23rd we set sail, the wind having changed to the north-west, with a very hollow sea and considerable cold. On the 24th a violent tempest arose, which obliged us to lay-to, the wind being then south-west; the gale increased in the night, and the captain, with all his men, having got drunk on the occasion, a favourable opportunity presented itself to seize this vessel, thus abandoned to the fury of the elements. Unfortunately for us, however, the swell of the sea, and repeated squalls of wind, prevented our executing an attempt of this nature. On the 25th in the night the wind, after veering all round the compass, fixed at north-east, and continued to blow with extraordinary violence. About three in the morning our main-mast sprung, and we carried away the mizen-topmast; so that nothing remained standing but the mizenmast. The noise of these disasters roused the captain, who crawled out of his cabin to give us orders, but part of the wreck falling upon him broke his arm and rendered him incapable of attending his duty, in which, indeed, he would have had no opportunity of displaying much

management, as the whole of our masts, yards, and rigging were nearly unserviceable. In this situation of extreme necessity we redoubled our efforts to repel the danger, and the sailors, drunk as they were, seemed well aware of the utility of our services. Some of them joined us, and with hearty curses on their officers for ignorant and drunken wretches, swore that they would obey our orders. The captain, who was likewise persuaded that he was indebted to our efforts for his preservation, and being afraid to put the command into the hands of his mate, whom he had hitherto kept in irons, declared loudly that he entrusted the conduct of the vessel to my care till he should be himself able to attend to it.

On the 26th about noon the wind slackened, and after much labour I set the fore-sail by passing a stay from the bowsprit to the stump of the mainmast. At five in the afternoon the wind changed to north-west, and slackened, so that we set the mizen and mizen-stay-sail; but we could not keep her to her course long, for the wind changed again to east-south-east, which obliged me to close haul, in which situation we made good our course between south and south one quarter west. On the 27th we saw land, and by a meridian observation the latitude was fifty-four degrees seventeen minutes. The sailors affirmed that the land was the island of Sachalin.* Our situation tempted me to seize this occasion of escaping from slavery: I therefore proposed to the crew to anchor on the coast of Korea, to repair our masts and trim our cargo, which had shifted in such a manner as to endanger our oversetting, in case we should be visited by a gale of wind like the former. Notwithstanding this, however, all the rhetoric I could use was incapable of prevailing over the crew, who, being encouraged by the appearance of settled weather,

* Saghalin Island, according to Colonel Venuikof, is called Tarakai by the natives, and Karafuto by the Japanese, and is now a Russian colony. It extends nearly north and south, abreast of the Coast of Tartary (not the Korea, as Benyowsky affirms), for a length of 510 miles by a width varying from 25 to 100 miles. Its northern portion is opposite the entrance of the Amur river, to which it approaches within 10 miles. The island is mountainous, some of the peaks attaining altitudes over 2,000 feet. Cape Elizabeth, the northernmost point, is in Lat. 54° 32′, Cape Lowernstern is in Lat. 54° 3′, so the vessel was somewhere between these two capes.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival at Kamchatka—Conference with some exiles there—They wait upon the Governor, and receive instructions—Village of the exiles—Ordinances of the Czar Peter for their regulation.

ON the 2nd, at high water, we entered the port; and in this place my command terminated. On the 3rd we were set on shore, and lodged in a yourth, which is a kind of a house built of earth, the roof alone being visible above ground. We were guarded by four soldiers, eight Cossacks, and a sergeant. About noon we saw several vessels which dropped down the river; * they were of the kind called Bajdara in the language of the country, formed of very thin planks fastened together with whalebone, or covered with sea-wolves' skins well sewed together. One of these vessels conveyed a Russian officer with ten Cossacks, deputed from the Governor of Kamchatka to receive the packets from Court, and take the exiles under his guard. The officer went first on board the vessel, and afterwards on shore, where he relieved our guard by his Cossacks. A certain something which, according to his own expression, struck him at first sight of me, excited his curiosity to know who I was, which I satisfied laconically by answering, "a soldier, once a general, but now a slave." This answer surprised him, and, as he has since protested, conciliated his esteem. When he learned that my companions were likewise officers, he presented us with a dinner according to the custom of the country, which consisted of boiled fish, roasted fish, and fish powdered and made into bread. This

* The river of Kamchatka is called Sautal by the natives. On the banks of this river is a town called Nisney Ostrogg, composed of three hundred houses.

cookery would have disgusted famine itself, but the thing which the most effectually overset my stomach was the drink; it was composed of fish putrified in water, the corruption of which gives the water a certain sourness. During the dinner, at which it might be of some service to the epicures of our great towns to have been present, the conversation turned on the manners and customs of the country, and the conclusion in every case was, that there is not a more miserable country on the face of the earth. After dinner the officer caused us to embark in his boats, two in each, and conducted us to the town called Bolsoretzkoy Ostrogg.*

After rowing four versts we met four vessels, with men on board very well clothed. They stopped to question us concerning Europe, but when they were informed by our guards that we were exiles we were surprised to behold their change of countenance, and the joy and satisfaction which they could not conceal. We supposed their offers of service and demonstrations of gladness were mockery, and as we thought ourselves justly offended, we threatened vengeance if they continued to insult our misfortunes, and most assuredly we should have returned the supposed insult if the commander of our convoy had not informed us that our quarrel was founded in misunderstanding, and assured us that our supposed antagonists were companions in misfortune, being exiles as well as ourselves. The similarity of our fate and misfortunes produced an instantaneous friendship, and their first transports of joy, which were founded only on the hope of finding some consolation in our society, were succeeded by tears. They gave us an affecting account of their situation and the cruelty with which they were treated; and their recital confirmed us in the opinion that there is no slavery more dreadful than that of an exile at Kamchatka. I assured them that we set the highest value on their good wishes, and in the name of all my companions testified our ardent desire to continue in friendship,

* The so-called fort at Bolcheresk can only have been an "Ostrog" like that at Ochoctzh. *Vide supra*, p. 109, where Benyowsky writes—"The mouth of which is defended by what they call a fortress, though it is nothing more than a simple square surrounded with palisades and provided with a four-pounder at each angle."

and maintain an indissoluble connection with them. This first moment of conversation afforded me a favourable opportunity of establishing a system of union among the exiles; for they did not fail to inform me that many among themselves were continually caballing about the Governor, in hopes of gaining his favour at the expense of their companions. My observations on this subject appeared to act strongly upon them, and they protested that they would embrace the earliest opportunity of assembling all our friends, to determine upon the establishment of a certain order among them, and that they believed they could not do better than to acknowledge me as their chief, &c. This declaration was very flattering to me, and I have since been perfectly convinced of the advantages of the steps they proposed to take.

The officer, fearing to be benighted, pressed us to continue our journey. Our new companions changed their course to accompany us, and during this short voyage the assurances and protestations of the most sincere friendship were a hundred times repeated. They promised that we should find conveniences in their habitations sufficient to permit us to rest a few days after our fatigue; but that it would soon after be necessary to labour, in order to secure ourselves from famine. Their accounts of the place entirely disheartened my companions; but as to myself, who have always laid it down as a principle to do everything in my power to prevent the greatest evils, to overcome the present, and to give myself little concern for the future, I was only attentive to such parts of their narration as tended to render me acquainted with our situation, and the possibility of delivering ourselves from it. My conclusions were nearly as follow: 1. That liberty was granted to us merely for the purpose of earning a subsistence, of which we could not assure ourselves without the most unremitted labour. 2. That it was of the greatest consequence that I should gain the favour of the Governor, in order to obtain permission on some future occasion to arm a vessel to hunt the beaver, in order that we might make our escape on that first occasion. 3. That it was necessary to establish a union among all the exiles, and to cause them to adopt a certain deference for me. 4. That it was absolutely necessary

to invent some method of keeping the secret, in the confidence of which I might be enabled to confer with many individuals respecting our departure.

My mind was so occupied in the adjustment of these concerns, that I paid very little attention to the circumstances of our voyage: we arrived, therefore, insensibly, at the close of the day, to the town; where, on our landing, we were shut up in a house opposite the fortress. On the 4th, at ten in the morning, we were conducted by our guards before the Governor, Mr. Nilow, who having been informed of the services I had performed in the course of our navigation, received me very civilly, and thanked me for the care and pains I had taken in preserving the ship. After which he separately examined us respecting our quality, causes of our exile, &c., and, lastly, ordered us to go before the Secretary of the Chancery, Mr. Sudeikyn, who, he informed us, would give us more ample instructions respecting our future situation, which, as far as depended upon himself, he would not fail to mitigate, provided we behaved ourselves with obedience and performed our duty in a peaceable manner, by remitting the hyassak or tribute to the Chancery which should be prescribed. After this fine speech he caused us to be led to the Secretary, whom we found in the Chancery office; the Governor's servant put a paper into his hands, which he read, and then assured us that we might esteem it a great happiness that we were sent to Kamchatka, as there was not a better disposed gentleman in the whole world than the Governor; and that, with regard to himself, he was a gentleman of distinction honoured with the peculiar confidence of her Majesty the Empress; and, moreover, that he was disposed to protect us in the most effectual manner. I returned him our thanks for his goodness in interesting himself in favour of the unfortunate, and intreated him to inform us of our duty and the mode of conduct to which it was expected we should conform; in answer to this he acquainted us—

1. That we should be set at liberty on the following day, and provided with subsistence for three days, after which we must depend upon ourselves for our maintenance.

2. That each person would receive from the Chancery a

musket and a lance, with one pound of powder, four pounds of lead, a hatchet, several knives, and other instruments and carpenter's tools, with which we might build cabins, and that we were at liberty to choose our situations at the distance of one league from the town; but that we should be bound to pay in furs, during the first year, each one hundred roubles, in return for these advantages.

3. That every one must work at the *corvée* one day in the week for the service of the Government, and that we might not absent ourselves from our houses for twenty-four hours without the permission of the Governor.

4. That each exile should bring to the Chancery six sable skins, fifty rabbit's skins, two foxes skins, and twenty-four ermines per annum.

After this information the Secretary dismissed our guards, and caused provisions for three days to be immediately distributed, the whole consisting of nine pounds of dried fish. We then quitted the Chancery and went directly to the magazine to receive our arms and utensils, which were carefully delivered to us according to our choice, for the storekeeper permitted us to choose in consequence of our having promised him some furs. It was with the greatest pleasure that I again beheld myself armed; and my companions received equal satisfaction from the same circumstance. When we came out of the magazine we perceived twenty exiles, who had brought some sledges drawn by dogs to assist in carrying our charge, and who offered us the use of their cabins until we should have built our own. We accepted their invitation, and departed towards their home. Their repeated marks of civility were exceedingly fatiguing to us who were in a state of extreme hunger, but at length, about three in the afternoon, we arrived at their habitations, which formed a small village composed of eight cabins, and the same number of balagans, or magazines. In the centre of the village we perceived a long square building, which our new companions informed us was their public hall of meeting.

The number of these unfortunate men was twenty-three, and there were about thirty women living with them; among these I remarked that a person of the name of Crustiew

possessed a considerable degree of authority, and I soon perceived that it was his house into which we were received. He caused us to sit in his yourt round the fire, while the women presented us with brandy and dried fish, and afterwards tea and butter; this breakfast was followed by a dinner, which consisted entirely of fish, and we were not without a dessert, composed of caviar and cedar nuts. Our dinner passed in great silence, because we were busied in filling our empty stomachs; but when we had performed this task the conversation began by inquiries on our part respecting our present situation: the accounts we received served only to render us more intimately acquainted with the extent of our misfortunes.

But as I had no design of patiently enduring the unhappy state of such a slavery, the account only increased my ardour and my efforts to deliver myself from it. As the first step, I determined to speak privately to Mr. Crustiew, who had an ascendancy over the others; and who, on account of his having resided eight years at Kamchatka, could easily afford me every necessary information.

After our conversation had turned for a considerable time upon the disagreeable events of the life into which we were about to enter, and our hosts having assured us that there were some among them who had groaned under this slavery for twenty-six years, Mr. Panow, one of my companions, who during the whole discourse had appeared absorbed in contemplation, suddenly exclaimed, "How is it possible, my friends, that brave men like you can have endured this unhappy fate without having made some attempt to deliver yourselves from tyranny? You are afraid of death then, and in this case I fear we shall find no true associates in you." He would have continued his discourse, but Mr. Crustiew made a sign to me to interrupt him, which I did by directing the conversation to another subject; but at the same time I resolved to ask the reason from Mr. Crustiew why he objected to our conversing in an open manner.

Our entertainer caused brandy and tea to be served, and proposed to his companions to receive us in their cabins and share their provisions with us, observing to them that we

should not be able to build new cabins during the winter. The congress applauded this proposition, and, to conciliate our union, we swore a mutual friendship; after which every one received a companion. My lot, in which I confess there was a slight management, gave me to Mr. Crustiew.

CHAPTER V.

The Count forms an intimacy with Mr. Crustiew, an exile—Society established for projecting the means of escape—The Count's speech and plan of a constitution—The exiles wait upon the Governor and the Chancellor—The Governor appoints the Count to teach the languages to his children—An unforeseen event tends greatly to mitigate the distresses and advance the projects of the exiles.

OUR places of habitation being thus settled, every one retired, and I seized the first opportunity of being alone with Mr. Crustiew to inquire the reason why he had interrupted the discourse of Mr. Panow, at the same time that I assured him I could not persuade myself that any one amongst them could be so base as to betray his companions. "It is very true," replied he, "my dear friend, that you can have no reason to think so meanly of any of them, though it is very certain that there are some among us who would rather pass the rest of their lives in this cursed country than expose themselves to the mercy of the waves. But the most humiliating circumstance is, that there are among us some wretches who, in hopes of obtaining their liberty by betraying our secrets, would certainly lose no time in communicating our projects to the Governor; for," continued he, "there exists a law, which is the only one in favour of exiles, to the effect that every exile who shall have revealed to the Governor any plot concerning his authority, or relating the public peace, which may be carried on by other exiles, shall be immediately set at liberty." He ended his discourse by assuring me that his life and his utmost exertions were entirely at my service; that he would avail himself of the first occasion to declare me chief of the society, and that, in a word, my principles and views

should in future be the rule by which he would direct his own. We therefore referred the more ample consideration of our interests till another occasion, when we proposed to determine the manner of executing an attempt, either to set ourselves at liberty, or sacrifice our lives in the pursuit.

Such was the issue of the first day of my arrival, after which we retired to rest. I made many reflections on all that had happened during the course of the day, and determined on the means of preserving the secret of whatever we might in future deliberate or conclude upon amongst ourselves.

I perceive that I cannot in future relate the continuation of my memoirs in the form of an history, and shall therefore proceed in the form of a journal.

On the 5th I arose and examined the whole cabin, which appeared to be very well furnished; but what surprised me the most agreeably was an alcove of the same kind as that in which I slept, which was filled with French, Russian, English, German, and Latin books, placed in order. I found Anson's "Voyage" laying on a table, and began to read it with pleasure, but had scarcely finished the first page before Mr. Crustiew entered and embraced me. Our first conversation turned on this famous voyager, and my friend informed me that for six years past he had deliberated in his own mind on the means of quitting Kamchatka, and making his way to the Marian islands. The account of the island of Tinian, as described in that publication,* had struck the imagination of Mr. Crustiew so forcibly, that the island, in his opinion, was nothing less than paradise. From this turn of

* Tinian Island (or Buenavista), one of the Mariana or Ladrone islands was celebrated in Anson's "Voyage" in 1742. He arrived here with his crew suffering from scurvy, and spoke of its healthy and dry soil, the beauty of its meadows, and its diversified woods, lawns, valleys, and hills, abounding with thousands of cattle, guanacoes, wild hogs, wild fowl, guavas, cocoanuts, limes, oranges, and bread fruit. Later navigators have not given its description in such glowing colours. This was doubtless the objective point of Benyowsky's plan of escape, and it may be noted that the Count told Mr. Barlow (*vide supra* Introduction) that he had arrived at the Marians, from whence he intended to go to Manilla. *Vide* account given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This is also confirmed by Ismyloff, who states that he made Luconia, *i.e.*, Luzon of the Philippines.

mind I determined to acquaint him with the resolution of myself and my companions, at the same time proposing that he should join us. He joyfully accepted my proposition, and, kneeling before me, immediately took an oath of fidelity and obedience. He assured me likewise that by his incorporation into our society, he should reinforce it with twenty other companions; but he requested my permission to speak to them concerning it. I was delighted with an acquisition of such considerable value, but confined myself to take his oath of constant friendship, at the same time that I begged him not to act precipitately, but to wait for the approbation of our society, the rules of which I was endeavouring to establish for the purpose of securing our mutual preservation and regulating our conduct.

After these preliminaries I informed my companions, and we established a committee of the following members: Myself (chief), Panow, Baturin, Stephanow, Solmanow, Wynbladth, Crustiew, Wasili (my old servant).

At the opening of our assembly I addressed the meeting as follows:—

"A variety of events has forced us to this place, where we find ourselves oppressed under one common misfortune. We are all aware of its cruelty and barbarity, and its duration threatens us with the most dreadful consequences. The excess of our misfortune ought, therefore, to lead us to seek our own safety, by throwing off this abominable yoke of slavery to which injustice and despotism have condemned us. The equality of our unfortunate situation renders our conditions equal: there can be no question, therefore, of preference among us in consequence of the titles we may have formerly possessed, whether by birth or acquisition. At this moment we are equal by the very nature of our situation; and from this point it is that I will proceed to propose to you a constitution relative to ourselves, in order that we may, with perfect safety, establish a plan of operation, the execution of which will lead us to liberty.

"From our own experience in the world we cannot but be convinced, that no society can exist without the choice of a person to whom the supremacy shall be entrusted. The

choice of such a person ought, therefore, to engage our first attention. He shall be our creature, but at the same time that we give him our confidence, it will be necessary that we pay him the most perfect submission. In order to proceed without delay to this nomination, I propose the most simple method—namely, that every one shall write the name of the person on whom his choice shall be fixed, and the plurality of names shall determine. When a chief shall be thus elected, let him swear to keep the following four articles:—

"'1. That he shall employ his utmost abilities and every possible means to form a plan, which he shall carry into effect at the peril and risk of his life. This plan shall tend to set us at liberty as early as possible.'

"'2. That he shall not give any distinguished preference to any person amongst us; but shall inform the committee of everything which he may think of advantage relative to his operations.'

"'3. That in case the chief shall be desirous of renouncing his plan, or shall remonstrate to that purpose to the committee, or even shall converse to that effect with any individual separately, he shall be punished, *ipso facto*, with death, and the committee shall have the right to execute this sentence in whatever manner may to them appear the most expedient.'

"4. That after the chief shall have made his oath he shall receive a separate oath from each of the individuals who form the society, and that the oath shall in substance be as follows:

"'(1) That each member of the society shall employ his utmost exertions and abilities, at the peril of his life, to co-operate in the execution of the plan which shall be adopted for the obtaining of liberty.'

"'(2) That having acknowledged the authority of his chief, he shall obey him with the most perfect submission; and that, as he finds himself, by injustice and despotism, discarded from all civil and political society, he will, without any restriction, obey the orders of the chief elect, acknowledging him as his sovereign and master.'

"'(3) That having rendered himself, by virtue of his oath, worthy of the confidence of the society without any restriction, each individual shall engage to keep the most profound secrecy

concerning everything which shall have been treated or determined from that day forwards; and in case he shall have betrayed this engagement, he shall acknowledge himself, *ipso facto*, culpable, and worthy to be punished with death, to which he shall submit from the moment of his apostacy from the present oath; submitting himself likewise by the present act to be the instrument of execution of every sentence of death which shall be decreed in the committee against any other of the society, whomsoever he may be.'

"After taking this oath, let the chief, with all the members of the society, establish a fourth article, as follows:

"'(4) That if, in case of treachery, either the chief, or any other person of the society, shall fall into the hands of Government, he shall keep the most profound secrecy respecting their union; and the association shall use the means, at the risk and peril of their lives, to take that person out of the hands of Government, either by rescuing him by open force, or by providing him with poison or arms to deliver himself from oppression.'"

This speech was received with veneration, and I was convinced, from the countenance of my auditors, that they approved my propositions. In consequence thereof every one took paper, and wrote a name according to his choice. Upon opening the papers, seven bore my name, and my paper that of Crustiew, which determined them to nominate Mr. Crustiew my second. We then proceeded to take our oaths, and I received those of the other members of the society.

Such was the conclusion of my second day at Kamchatka. After having fixed the meeting of the committee for the 10th of the month, Mr. Crustiew declared that he had several friends to propose as members of our society, to which I acceded, and fixed the time of their reception on the 10th.

On the 6th we met, in order to proceed in a body to pay our compliments to the Governor. He received us, and after having been informed that I spoke several languages, he appointed me master of languages to his son and his three daughters, in consideration of which he dispensed me from all public work, and ordered the same subsistence to be allowed me as to the soldiers of the garrison. After having acquainted me with this determi-

nation, he called his children and exhorted them to be diligent, and learn whatever I might teach them.

After this ceremony we waited upon the Chancellor, who admitted us in the same manner. We found him playing at chess with Kolossow, hettman of the Cossacks. He ordered us to wait till the game was finished. I approached the table and examined the state of the game. My particular attention surprised the Chancellor, who inquired if I understood chess; I answered in the affirmative. Soon after, finding his own game desperate, and, in his opinion, lost, he told me he would give me fifty roubles if I could win it. The hettman protested that he would not play with an exile, as it was contrary to the laws, but the Chancellor maintained that he might legally do it, as the laws prohibited only the communication with exiles; and at last the hettman, rather piqued at the Chancellor's intimation that he was fearful of losing the party, consented that I should play the game out. He had the advantage of a castle, a knight, and two pawns. At the third move I uncovered my castle, which stood behind a bishop and opposite to the queen, at the same time that I checked the king with my bishop. The loss of the queen secured the game in my favour, so that I soon gave the check-mate.

At the end of the game I found that it had been played for five hundred roubles on a side, and I immediately received the fifty roubles. The hettman being vexed, was desirous of having his revenge, and the Chancellor consented to find money for my stake. He dismissed my companions, after presenting them with two bottles of brandy, and detained me to play at chess. I won three successive games, which put two thousand roubles into the Chancellor's pocket, of which my part amounted to one hundred and fifty roubles. At dinner time I retired, and soon after with great surprise perceived the hettman close behind me. He called after me very civilly, and informed me that he had a project in his head, in which, if I would join, I should find it much to my advantage; but for my part I was apprehensive that his loss might make him my enemy, and therefore proposed to restore the hundred and fifty roubles which had been presented to me; at the same time making the best excuses I could for what had happened. But my fears

were soon dissipated when he discovered his project, which was that I should play against some rich merchants who had won large sums of money of him, and that if I had the good fortune to win he was certain of gaining an immense sum, of which the fifth part should be paid me on the spot.

The situation in which I found myself, and the want of money to carry my enterprise into execution, made me determine to accept his proposition, and to assure him of the fortune of his rivals in this play. As soon as I had given my consent, he forgot my situation as an exile, and pressed me to go to dinner with him. I was received by his family with great respect; for he presented me in the character of an illustrious though unfortunate gentleman, to whom his family owed great obligations. At dinner we were surprised by several of the chief people of the town, but my entertainer, who, by his charge, was the third person in the Government, knew so well how to manage the conversation, that he perfectly established that degree of consideration which he was desirous I should possess. At my departure he caused me to be supplied with provisions, namely, butter, salt meat, rice, and brandy sufficient at least to entertain my company five days.

When I arrived at home I assembled my companions, and related to them everything that had happened. At the sight of my provisions and the hundred and fifty roubles, they thought they beheld Providence in person; their hopes were still more highly elevated when I informed them of the plot in which I had engaged with the hettman, against the merchants. Our evening thus passed with great cheerfulness, and many were the castles we built in the air. As soon as the company was gone I employed myself in writing out copies in the Latin, French and German languages for my scholars; and afterwards, enlivened by hope, I retired to rest and enjoyed the most refreshing sleep.

CHAPTER VI.

The Count enters upon his office as language-master—The Governor presents him with a female slave, and a sledge drawn by dogs—A proposal made to him by some of the chief gentlemen of the town to establish a school—A party at chess—An evening's entertainment—Partiality of Miss Aphanasia Nilow, the Governor's youngest daughter, for the Count—Madame Nilow approves her attachment.

ON the 7th, my late rising obliged me to hasten to the Governor's, where I found the younger part of the family assembled in the hall. I gave them the copies and caused them to spell the words. The youngest of the three daughters, whose name was Aphanasia, who was sixteen years of age, proposed many questions concerning my thoughts in my present situation. Her questions convinced me that her father had given them some information concerning my birth and misfortunes. I therefore gave them an account of my adventures, at which my scholars appeared to be highly affected, but the youngest wept very much. She was a beautiful girl, and her sensibility created much emotion in my mind—but, alas, I was an exile!

The Governor afterwards came in and attended to my instructions. He appeared exceedingly well satisfied with my method, and informed me that he intended to present me with a Kamchatka female slave, a sledge, and two dogs. I thanked him for this favour, but observed that as an exile I could not possess any property, and that I was resolved to endure my fate with patience. He persisted, however, in his resolution, and observed that the Senate would not be displeased at his kindness for me, after having received an account of the essential service I had done the State, by preserving the vessel, with the

lives and fortunes of the subjects of the Empress. The goodness of his disposition affected me greatly, and I thanked him with the utmost sincerity, after which I took my leave. But he detained me a short time, and ordered a sledge to be harnessed, which he put into my hands, with a conductor, whom he ordered to obey me.

When I arrived with this new equipage my companions cried out that miracles were revived; and more especially when I informed them of all that the Governer had said, they verily believed themselves delivered from the yoke of slavery under my protection. But Mr. Panow surprised the assembly by observing that they had no such reason to rejoice, for the Governor's benevolence would slacken my zeal, and that afterwards, at the first change of a Governor, we should remain exposed to the mercy of the barbarians. He was going on with his discourse, when I judged it proper to interrupt him by renewing my oath, with every assurance of my being devoted to the good of the society.

After dinner I received a visit from the hettman, who was accompanied by Messrs. Casarinow and Roscurakow, two principal merchants. After the first civilities they proposed to me to establish a school for the languages, arithmetic, and geography; and, to enable me to undertake this, they made an offer of putting together an entire house, newly built, at any place where I might choose to establish a public school. I accepted their offers, on condition that they should persuade the Governor to send his children to this school, because, as I was obliged to repair every day to the Governor's, I could not otherwise have it in my power to superintend the public school. We concluded our arrangement with the condition that I should receive five roubles per month for each child; that they should pay me besides half a rouble for wood and lights; and lastly that they should contribute together to furnish my house with moveables and a stock of provisions, together with a servant to dress my victuals.

The more I reflected on the favourable change of my situation, the more my hope increased that I should be able in safety to execute the plan I had formed for my deliverance. For the distressing image of a wife whom I loved, and who in my

absence, in all probability, had given birth to an infant, presented itself constantly to my mind, and permitted me to receive no perfect satisfaction. Absorbed in these reflections, I paid little attention to the conversation between my companions and our guests; but the hettman roused me out of my reverie by requesting me to come and dine with him and play a few games at chess. He informed me that he had proposed this party to Mr. Casarinow, then present, who would take no denial, and that each game should be for three hundred roubles, of which he would stake on my side one hundred and twenty, and the Chancellor the same sum, and that if I won, the sixty roubles of each game would belong to me; but that in case I lost, they would bear my loss. Mr. Casarinow consented to the engagement on condition that fifty games should be played; and that he might be permitted to make an association, any one of whom should be at liberty to play against me, as in like manner it should be permitted either for the Chancellor or the hettman to play in my stead. The hettman replied that he could not stipulate but for himself; it was therefore determined to wait on the Chancellor, to whom we accordingly went. This gentleman performed his part very dexterously, by making some difficulties at first, though at last he consented, and the articles were written down and signed, with the additional stipulation, that ready money should be paid down at the end of each game.

The agreement was ratified by an evening's entertainment, at which fifty persons were present, and the Governor himself, with his family came in. On his arrival the music was sent for, and dances began. As for myself, I was a friendly spectator of the whole; and, being now upon terms of great familiarity with every one, I requested the Chancellor to send a few bottles to my companions. He invited them all, appointing a chamber for their use, where they could see everything that passed without communicating with the assembly contrary to the laws. During the whole entertainment, my scholar Aphanasia never quitted me but to join in the dance, which she did very gracefully. Her mother came up to us once, and whispered to me, "I think your scholar will become your friend; have an eye over her. I am a kind mother." She spoke to me in very

good German; and as it was the first time I had conversed with her I felt some embarrassment, but soon recollecting myself, I assured her of my respect and inviolable attachment. The Governor, observing me in conversation with the mother and the daughter, likewise came up to us, and asked the subject of our conversation; but Madame de Nilow prevented my answering, by saying that she was inquiring whether I could not teach her daughter music. This mezzotermino delivered me from all apprehension, and a short time afterwards the Governor and his lady retired. Miss Nilow returned to me, and informed me that her father had consented to the establishment of a public school, and that consequently she, with her sisters and brothers, should often have the pleasure of visiting her master. It is impossible to describe the amiable and graceful manner of this charming girl. Two hours after midnight I attended my scholar, with her sisters, to the Governor's house, and afterwards returned home.

CHAPTER VII.

A building erected for a school—Conversation with Madame Nilow—Profits arising from the Count's skill at chess—Miss Aphanasia converses with the Count—The society of exiles reinforced—Hunting of the bear.

ON the 8th my friend Crustiew came to me at daybreak to inquire what situation I had chosen for the new edifice, and on going out of my hut I found almost all the pieces of wood for the building ready. As soon as I had marked out the situation the workmen began to put them together. After breakfast I repaired to the Governor's house to give the usual lessons to my scholars, whom I found ready with the alphabet in their hands. When they had said their spelling lessons, they requested me to write some German and French words in the Russian characters. It fortunately happened that I was provided with a grammer of the Russian, German, and French languages, which I had found among the books of my friend. I put this into their hands, with some instructions for the use of it. As soon as the lessons were ended, I was asked a thousand questions concerning my country, its manners, customs, &c.

When I was preparing to depart, the Governor's lady arrived, and after dismissing her children, made me sit down beside her. She informed me that she was the daughter of a Swedish colonel, exiled into Siberia; that her mother had changed her religion, and that she had married Mr. Nilow, at that time lieutenant-colonel, a worthy man, but greatly addicted to drinking, the excess of which rendered him brutal and insupportable; that she enjoyed no pleasure excepting that of seeing her family grow up around her, though at the present instant, after having suffered the mortification of seeing her

two eldest daughters married to two officers who were addicted to gluttony and drinking in the most disgusting excess, she could not but lament the fate of the youngest, who was intended by her father to be married to a certain Cusma, one of the most disagreeable persons in the universe. She therefore intreated me to endeavour to gain the confidence of the Governor, and to use my utmost exertions to change this resolution. My reply to this good mother was that I would do my best, and that at all times she should find me obedient to her commands. Soon after I took my leave and returned home, where I found an invitation from Mr. Hettman to form a party at chess.

In the meantime we dined, and after dinner Mr. Crustiew presented to me the candidates for reception into our society. About four o'clock a woman came to take my measure for shirts and clothes, according to the custom of this country, where the women perform the tailor's business. At seven o'clock I waited on the Chancellor, where I found five merchants. We played five games at chess, four of which I won, and after receiving one hundred and eighty roubles I took my leave.

On the 9th a merchant, named Csulosnikow, hearing that I possessed some money, proposed to me to play a couple of games with him, but declared that he would not play for less than two hundred roubles a game. I accepted his proposal, only deferring it till afternoon, because I was obliged to attend my scholars at the Governor's house. When I entered the hall I was surprised to find Miss Aphanasia absent, and still more to hear that she was ill in bed, but being desirous of taking her lesson had asked leave for me to come to her, which her mother had granted. I was accordingly introduced into her chamber, where this amiable girl disclosed the sentiments of her heart with such openness and simplicity that the Russian language at that moment appeared to me the most musical in the universe. Our conversation was interrupted by the appearance of Madame Nilow. I therefore took my leave, and on my arrival at home I found Mr. Csulosnikow, who lost three games at chess. The rest of the day was employed in settling the order for the reception of the candidates to be pre-

sented by Mr. Crustiew. We agreed that the council of eight should alone be entrusted with the secrets, and that such other persons as might in future be admitted should be informed only of such particulars as the council might judge necessary to communicate to them to secure their confidence. At this meeting, therefore, the form of the oath was drawn up, and we employed the rest of the evening in preparing an entertainment.

On the 10th, at daybreak, Mr. Crustiew went in search of his candidates, and at nine in the morning returned with them. Their names were as follow:

Demetrius Kuzneczow, a free Russian merchant.

Aphanasi Kumin, captain of the Cossacks, free.

Andrew Gurcinin, chamberlain of the Empress Elizabeth, an exile.

John Sibaew, captain of the hunters, free.

Alexis Protopop, archdeacon of the church, free.

Levonti Popow, captain of the hunters, free.

John Csurin, brother to the captain of a merchant ship, free.

Magnus Meder, of the Admiralty, exiled twenty years.

John Wolkow, a free hunter.

Cassimir Bielski, a Polish starost, exiled fifteen years before.

Gregory Lobczow, colonel of infantry, an exile.

Heraclius Prince Zadskoy, exiled eighteen years before.

Julian Brandorp, a Swede, exiled six years before.

Nicholas Srebernikow, captain of a regiment of Guards, an exile.

Andrew Piatzinin, an exile.

At eleven in the morning the candidates were introduced to the committee, and the oaths and engagements were read to them. They immediately took the oath, and signed their engagements; but in order to confirm their sanction we determined that all those who were of the Russian religion should go to confession, and take the sacrament to corroborate their oaths. In consequence of this order Mr. Crustiew attended them to the church, where their confessions were received and the sacrament was administered to them by the protopop.

After their return we celebrated our little feast, and the Governor with his family, the Chancellor, and the hettman, with several other principal persons of the town, came to us in the evening, and honoured our assembly with a visit, which fixed the epoch of the independence of the exiles, for the Governor, being extremely drunk, swore that he acknowledged me as chief of the exiles, and commanded the Chancellor to register an act in the Chancery to authenticate this nomination; at the same time promising to write a representation in my favour to Government, in order that I might be employed in the service of the state. The Chancellor and the hettman supported the intentions of the Governor, and had the satisfaction to win near seven thousand roubles from the merchants, at chess, who by this means paid the charges of our entertainment.

On the 11th we determined to go in chase of the bear, and obtained permission from the Governor of four days absence. On this day I received a considerable present in linen and some pieces of plate from Mr. Nilow. On the 12th we departed, to the number of sixteen, well armed, with eight sledges, and went down the river which was frozen. At the distance of twenty-eight verstes we stopped at the dwelling of the tajon or chief of Csekawka: he gave us an account of the several visits he had received from the bears in his neighbourhood, and entertained us and our dogs with a dinner; after which he conducted us to a brook which fell into the river of Kamchatka. But the instant that he perceived three bears at play on the banks of this rivulet, he earnestly entreated us to retire, assuring us that these creatures would be the death of us. After delivering this advice he decamped, and we approached our enemies until within the distance of musket shot, when we discharged our firearms and wounded them. Enraged with their wounds, they came forward to attack us with the utmost fury. It was a fortunate circumstance that my companions were accustomed to this chase. They met the bears, and after a long combat slew the whole three, for none of them chose to quit the field of battle.

The following circumstances are proper to be taken notice of respecting this manner of hunting. At sight of a bear one of

the hunters advances to begin the attack, which he does by presenting his left arm to the animal, having previously secured himself by thick pieces of wood, fastened lengthways upon the arm, in order that the bear may not break it at the first grip. The moment the animal seizes the arm the hunter strikes him with a lance within the left shoulder. After this stroke the other hunters continually run their lances into the body of the animal, who often breaks the weapons, and, if the first stroke be not effectual, throws down his opponent and strangles, or at least maims him.

After having slain these three bears we laid them on our sledges and returned towards Csekawka. At the half distance we met the tajon with twenty natives of Kamchatka, armed with lances and bows. They acquainted us that they came to assist us, but when they saw the dead bears they sung our praise, and conducted us back in triumph. The first care of the Kamchatka men was to skin the bears, for which they gave us twenty-six martins' skins, and eight foxes' skins for the flesh. This bargain was very agreeable to us, and we resolved to sally forth by moonlight to make another prize. We succeeded very well in this attempt likewise, for we slew five others, but Sibaew was wounded.

Among these bears there was one of prodigious size, and as white as snow. We set apart his skin as a present for the Governor, and proposed to apply the four others to our own use as mattresses. We therefore laid them on our sledges and returned towards our habitations, where we skinned them, and salted the flesh; after which we carried our present to the Governor, who was highly pleased with it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Public school opened—The society of exiles meet on business relative to their escape by sea—Chess—The Count composes charts of the coasts and islands adjoining to Kamchatka—Dangerous consequence of the affair last debated in the society of exiles—Averted by the Count, who narrowly escapes assassination—His enemy punished.

ON the 14th, the schoolroom being ready, I received my scholars, and made choice of Messrs Crustiew and Panow as my assistants. At four in the afternoon the Governor's children appeared. The number of my scholars amounted to twenty-three, among which were three merchants, who came to learn arithmetic.

On the 16th Sibaew requested me to call a meeting, in order to communicate a discovery relative to our enterprise. I appointed that very night at eleven o'clock. When the committee was assembled, I demanded of him the communication he had to make, which was as follows :

In the course of the preceding month of August, Csulosnikow sailed from Ochoczk with a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, armed, and bound to the Aleuthes Islands, to catch beavers. His crew consisted of twenty-eight hunters, who had never been at sea before, and these being overtaken by a violent tempest had run the vessel ashore. Csulosnikow in this juncture had forced the people to work without intermission to get the vessel off the ground, and upon their refusal to persevere had obtained military assistance from the governor to compel them. In consequence of which treatment they had unanimously determined, first to get the vessel off, and afterwards to make their escape with her out of slavery. Mr. Sibaew, having been consulted by them on this affair, took

advantage of their disposition to insinuate that they had no chance of succeeding in their attempt unless they could engage me to take the command, which they immediately resolved to do, and intreated him to inform me of their determination. He therefore thought it incumbent on him to acquaint the committee, that they might determine what was expedient to be done in these circumstances, which in his own opinion he thought very advantageous to our interests, as by increasing our number we might put ourselves in a situation to employ open force in seizing a vessel, and making our escape with our arms in our hands, in case we could not succeed by stratagem.

This proposition appeared very interesting to us. The opinion of every person present was therefore taken, and the society was at last induced to adopt mine, which was as follows:

That Sibaew should return for answer to them, that I was greatly affected with the sufferings they endured, but that having already been betrayed once before in my endeavours to assist the unfortunate, I could not trust to their proposals. For it would be sufficient if out of twenty-eight there should be one apostate who might betray me; and as the enterprise was of the nature of a revolt, they would be punished by being condemned for life to the mines. I recommended that no other answer should be made them on my part but this; but I engaged Sibaew to encourage them in their disposition to quit Kamchatka, and persuade them to use every means of gaining my confidence, while I reserved to myself the conduct and management of their plot when it should be brought nearer to an issue.

On the 17th, in the morning, Sibaew arrived with two of the principal persons of the crew of Mr. Csulosnikow, the one named Lapin, who was master, and the other Parencsin, who was carpenter. They both threw themselves at my feet as soon as they entered, and conjured me not to abandon them in their enterprise. They observed that their resolution ought to be agreeable to me, as I should thereby secure my liberty; and they offered to engage themselves by oath to be faithful and obedient to me in all my commands, and to follow me to the end of the world. I continued to urge difficulties until

they had assured me that they would engage themselves by the most sacred oath, and take the holy communion to corroborate every engagement into which I might think proper to require them to enter. This resolution determined me to give them some hopes that I would accept the charge, provided they engaged their companions to follow my fortunes under the same oath. For which purpose I told them, that as soon as they were all agreed they might come to me, in order to execute their oath of union.

After their departure I assembled my companions, and communicated to them the agreement I had made with the chiefs of Csulosnikow's people. The steps I had taken were approved, and the company finding themselves reinforced by twenty-eight strong, robust and determined men, no longer doubted of success. We agreed from that day forward to busy ourselves in making cartridges and preparing our arms. Each of us was directed to provide a musket, a pair of pistols, a sabre, a lance, and sixty cartridges.

On the 18th I passed the day with the chancellor in playing at chess, and I won seven games. On my return I found Mr. Norin, lieutenant of the garrison, who asked me to lend him five hundred roubles, which he wanted to fit himself out, as he was nominated commander at Nisniostrogg. I promised to comply with his request on condition that he gave his word of honour to behave with humanity towards the unfortunate exiles dwelling within the limits of his jurisdiction. He accompanied me home, where I put the five hundred roubles into his hand, and received in return his protestations of friendship and gratitude. My companions were much concerned at my liberality; but when I assured them that I had near five thousand roubles in my box, they found themselves more at ease in that respect.

On the 19th the Chancellor desired me to compose a reduced chart of the Kurilles and Aleuthes Islands, together with the coasts of Kamchatka and Ochoczk; and in order that I might obtain the necessary information, he gave me permission to take out of the archives whatever pieces I might find relative to the subject. As this business tended to divert my wearisome situation, and at the same time to supply me with the

knowledge which was requisite to the execution of my project, I undertook it very willingly; and on that very day I received out of the Chancery several journals and relations of sea voyages, made either by officers in the Imperial Russian service or by individuals. At the first perusal, however, I was convinced that I could advance nothing with certainty, except such articles as I found in the journals of Spanberg, Bering, and Tsirikow.

On the 20th Madame de Nilow pressed me much to teach her daughter music. Unfortunately, however, my whole knowledge of this art consisted in playing the harp, an instrument which it would have been a miracle to have found in Kamchatka. Nevertheless, to please this lady, I promised to make one, though I had never handled any cabinet-maker's tools. On my return home I consulted with my friends concerning the accomplishment of my promise; and after I had made a model, Mr. Panow undertook to assist me in the construction of the instrument, Mr. Crustiew engaged to make the strings with the entrails of dogs and reindeer, and Mr. Stephanow promised to make all the iron screws.

On the 21st Mr. Csulosnikow, the merchant, came to me and reproached me with having excited his crew to mutiny, and threatened that if I did not point out the ringleaders to him he would directly go and complain to the Governor, and demand an order for my imprisonment. The direct and assured manner in which this man made his attack led me to fear some treachery on the part of his people, but as it was necessary to avoid every appearance of confusion, I replied that he must be out of his senses to accuse me with so stupid an undertaking. I admitted that his people had applied to me for an engagement to build my house, and that I had made a bargain with them, which, however, I would willingly cancel, if the Governor judged it inconvenient. I assured him that I entered into this explanation, not with a view to justify myself to him, whom I despised too much to think of making any reply to his accusations, but that I did it to make him blush at his want of humanity. I moreover assured him that I should lose no time in waiting on the Governor and making him acquainted with the execrable treatment with which he pursued his people,

who, though unable to subsist without working, were deprived even of that resource, as far as his power could go; and that, as to myself, I should soon find an opportunity to punish him for his insolence in having dared to attribute such proceedings to me.

During our conversation several of my companions came up, and when informed of the subject of our discourse, they attributed his proceeding to a desire of avenging himself for the loss of a sum of money against me at chess. The contest soon became warm, and terminated in a shower of blows, which fell to his share.

To prevent the bad consequences of this adventure, I immediately waited upon the Governor and informed him of the accusation of Csulosnikow, not forgetting to mention the insolence of his behaviour. The Governor, irritated by the representations of his lady and the rest of his family, sent a sergeant in search of Csulosnikow, and the moment he appeared, without suffering him to speak, he declared to him that if he ever insulted me in future he would send him to prison, and prosecute him for having lost the vessel entrusted to his care; and that since he had information that the vessel could not be got off, he would discharge his crew from their contract, and give them full liberty to enter on board of any other vessel. The Governor accordingly sent his officer to the Chancellor in order that his commands might be carried into execution, and poor Csulosnikow found himself obliged to submit without speaking a word.

I thanked the Governor, and returned homeward, but had scarcely proceeded one third of the way before I was attacked by Csulosnikow and his cousin with two stout bludgeons and drawn knives. I had no other arms than a stick, and was at a distance from every place of assistance. However I set myself in a state of defence with my back against a store house, and in this situation I received many strokes on the arm. One of my blows was so lucky as to fall on the head of Csulosnikow's companion, and extended him upon the earth, upon which, having only one to deal with, I attacked my man with fury, broke my staff, and then flew upon him with my fists. At the first onset I had the good fortune to strike him

such a violent blow that he vomited blood, and begged his life, which I granted, at the same time that I reproached him with his treachery. I promised, however, not to speak of this adventure to the Governor.

After I had left him and was proceeding on my way, I met Sibaew, who, seeing me all bloody, with several contusions on my head, inquired what had happened, and upon being informed, he ran to the Governor's house to carry the news. The governor immediately sent a detachment to seize Csulosnikow and his cousin, the latter of whom died that afternoon by the fracture of his skull. Csulosnikow was condemned to six months public labour, and his whole property confiscated to the use of the State and the Church. For my part it was with great difficulty that I reached home, and notwithstanding every care, I was obliged to keep my bed ten days, during which time I received continual visits from the chiefs of the country, and especially the family of the Governor, which appeared to be highly interested in my welfare.

CHAPTER IX.

The exiles narrowly escape poisoning on New Year's Day—Discovery of the author, who discloses their project, as communicated to him by one of their number—The exiles meet, and put the traitor to death in the night—Farther inquiries made by Government, which are rendered abortive by an accidental circumstance.

ON the 1st of January, 1771, we paid our respects to the Governor and other principal persons, and afterwards assembled, in order to make a kind of entertainment. We had received from several merchants presents of tea and sugar, with which we regaled ourselves. But this pleasure cost us dear, for in a quarter of an hour after we were seized with violent colics and vomiting. Mr. Panow was the first who assured us that we were poisoned, for he affirmed that he had observed many of the pieces of sugar tasted salt. In consequence of this supposition, each of us drank a large quantity of whale oil. It is impossible to describe our sufferings; some were affected more than others, and as to myself, who had only taken one cup of tea, I found after I had taken the oil that my pains disappeared with only a trembling in all my limbs. But my utmost exertions were required to attend my other companions, consisting of fourteen persons, many of whom vomited blood.

During this crisis several of our companions came to see us, who, when they found what had happened, made haste to bring a quantity of reindeer's milk, which at last mitigated our pains, and caused them to go off with a trembling of the limbs, excepting Mr. Csurin, who died in the night, and Mr. Panow, who continued scarcely alive. As soon as we had recovered our forces and began to reflect upon this event we examined the sugar. I gave a piece to a cat and another piece to a dog, wrapped up in part of a fish. Both these

animals were strongly convulsed, and burst in the space of half an hour. This experiment convinced us that Mr. Casarinow, a merchant, had poisoned the sugar; but as it was of importance to search this affair to the bottom, we determined to keep the secret, for which reason we caused the protopop to attend the burial of Mr. Csurin, and Mr. Panow, finding himself better, was conveyed to his hut.

On the 2nd, about noon, I waited on the governor, with the intention of giving him an account of our accident, and as a proof I carried with me the sugar loaf. The Governor was not inclined to give credit to my declaration, for which reason I offered to convince him by sending for Mr. Casarinow, and proposing to him to drink tea, at the same time that notice might be incidentally taken that I had presented the Governor with a loaf of sugar. For I observed that the behaviour of Casarinow on this occasion could not fail either to clear up his innocence or indicate his guilt. Madame Nilow approved my proposal, and the governor consented to follow my advice, on condition that I should be a witness to what might happen from a neighbouring chamber.

The Governor accordingly sent for the Chancellor, the hettman, and Casarinow, with two other merchants. The moment I saw them arrive I retired into the next room, where I could hear everything that passed. The Chancellor and the hettman arrived first, and were informed of the business for which they had been requested to come. They concluded that Casarinow had executed this act of revenge against me on account of his having lost a large sum of money at chess, and declared that they did not doubt the truth of my relation. They at the same time observed that if the fact should be established against Casarinow, it would be absolutely necessary to punish him with the utmost rigour of the law by condemning him to labour in the mines, after confiscation of his whole fortune.

Casarinow at last arrived with the two other merchants: the Governor received them politely, and entered into discourse concerning the fitting out of some shipping for the islands Aleuthes to catch beavers. In the midst of their dialogue the Governor proposed tea, which was accepted by the whole company, and he continued his discourse with Casarinow by asking

if he was not in the habit of taking tea several times in the course of the day, to which he answered in the affirmative. In the meantime the table was set out, and the Governor, looking at the sugar loaf upon the table, expressed his surprise at the generosity of the exiles who arrived last, and observed that he had received as a New Year's gift from me two sugar loaves, part of which he had now the pleasure of offering to the company. At these words Casarinow turned pale, and upon the Governor's inquiry whether he was ill, he replied he was, and begged leave to retire. The Chancellor replied that his illness would go off after a couple of dishes of tea. He continued, however, to make his excuses, but at last the cup of tea, being poured out, was presented to him, and the Governor insisted on his drinking it. At this crisis the unhappy wretch no longer doubted but that he was discovered, and, throwing himself at the feet of the Governor, declared that he had poisoned the sugar with the intention of delivering society from such a monster as myself. He assured the Governor that he would himself be convinced of this after hearing the deposition of a person of the name of Piatsinin, who had discovered to him a plot which I had formed to arm all the exiles, and to seize vessels in order to escape from Kamchatka. The Governor was too much enraged at the attempt of Casarinow to pay any attention to his words; but committed him to prison, giving orders to the Chancellor to proceed to the confiscation of his property, and to register the sentence against him from his own confession of an attempt to poison.

After having seen this wretched man dragged to gaol, and the Governor's dinner-time being near, I retired. Immediately on my arrival I assembled the council, and afterwards all those who had entered into the oath of confederacy. I declared to them the treason of Piatsinin, who was then present, and the meeting sentenced him to die, but granted him three hours to prepare himself for death: the protopop attended him, and in the evening he was led out and put to death during the night by shooting him through the head.

In consequence of the deposition of Casarinow, the Chancellor caused a Cossack of the name of Piatsinin to come before him, and questioned him concerning the fact. This poor wretch

was at a loss what to answer, but absolutely denied ever having spoken to Casarinow, and the Chancellor did not give himself the trouble to confront them, but contented himself with inserting in the sentence a declaration of falsehood against the deposition of Casarinow.

[It is remarkable that the murder of Andrew Piatsinin led to no inquiry on the part of the Governor.]

CHAPTER X.

The Count constructs a musical instrument for his scholar, Miss Aphanasia —Members proposed to the society of exiles—Plan of operation settled —The Governor proposes a journey—Large sums of money won at chess and part presented to the Governor's family—Miss Aphanasia declares her affection for the Count in the presence of her father, who is exceedingly irritated, but is pacified by his colleagues in office—The Governor makes the necessary dispositions to reverse the sentence of exile under which the Count was banished.

ON the 3rd we were informed of all that had happened at the Governor's as well as at the Chancery, and it was with the greatest satisfaction that we reflected on our narrow escape from the consequences of treachery and poison. Several of us, however, were afflicted with severe fits of illness afterwards. On this day, my musical instrument being finished and the strings mounted, I carried it to Madame Nilow, and played a few airs upon it before her, and though the sound of the instrument was far from being lively, the melody was thought enchanting by the Governor and all his family. From that day forward their youngest daughter Aphanasia was inseparable from her instrument.

On the 4th Mr. Stephanow informed us that he had discovered that Bocsarow, Ismailow, and Lapin, three young persons apprenticed to the sea, had resolved, together with five or six hunters, to seize a vessel and escape to the Aleuthes Islands to establish themselves there. He observed that since the proposal first came from them he could depend on their fidelity; but as the treachery of Piatsinin had made a strong impression on the minds of my companions, I contented myself with proposing that Mr. Stephanow should form a connection with them, and encourage them in their resolution till we

should have decided respecting their admission, but that we should postpone our decision to the time of the execution of our project. My opinion was agreed to, and Mr. Stephanow was intrusted with the management of this affair.

On the 5th a committee was held to consult on the means of carrying our project into execution. It was here determined that in order to prevent all suspicion in future the greater part of our companions should quit the town of Bolsha, and settle at Nisney-ostrog during the winter, under pretence of following the chase; but that in the course of the month of March, or at farthest by the 15th of April, they should rejoin me, in order that as the harbour began at that time to be cleared of ice, and the shipping would be fitting out, we should embrace the earliest opportunity of seizing the first vessel which should be ready, in which we would embark and leave Kamchatka. In consequence of this resolution it was determined that Messrs. Crustiew and Stephanow should undertake to make sure of part of the crew of the first vessel which might be fitting out, with a view to facilitate the execution of our project, while I should attach myself to the Governor, the Chancellor, and the hettman, for the purpose of frustrating the effect of the insinuations of the merchants, who, from the treachery of Piatsinin and several other circumstances, had been confirmed in their suspicions. On the same day I requested the Governor's permission of absence for my companions that they might hunt near Nisney Novogrod, which I obtained. On the 6th they departed, after I had given them two hundred roubles to facilitate their establishment, together with a letter of recommendation for Mr. Norin, commanding-officer at Nisney-ostrog.

On the 7th the Governor proposed to me to accompany him on a journey he intended to make in the course of the month, together with his family. I complied with his orders, and promised to be ready, but the Chancellor and the hettman, who came in soon after, reproached me for abandoning their parties. The Governor, however, assured them that he should not be absent longer than seven or eight days; in consequence of which they determined to make the same journey, on condition that we took a chess board with us. The Governor was

curious to know the sum they had won at that game since I had borne a part; and, upon making a calculation, it appeared that it amounted to forty-two thousand roubles, in money and furs. The Chancellor, to show his attachment to the Governor, asserted that he had agreed with me to set aside one-tenth part of the profits as a present to the Governor's family, which he called me, as well as the hettman, to witness. The Governor was highly pleased with this declaration, and immediately caused his daughters to be called, and communicated to them the news of their good fortune; observing that they were indebted to me, in the first place, for this advantage, and next, to the friendship of the Chancellor and the hettman. I perceived that Mr. Hettman was offended at the step the Chancellor had taken, for which reason I called him aside, and represented to him that this act of generosity, as well as all the good consequences which might arise from it, would be shared by him, as well as us, and that there still remained a vast field for us to extend our advantages. This assurance set his covetous heart somewhat more at ease.

The Governor's family expressed their acknowledgments to us, but Miss Aphanasia added that she hoped, from the goodness of Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Hettman, that they would interest themselves in my favour, and obtain the abolition of the sentence of my exile, and the necessary grace, in order that I might be employed in some charge under Government, that her sincere desire of seeing me happy, and of partaking in my happiness, might be accomplished. At these words the Governor flew into a rage, and loaded me with invectives, but the Chancellor and hettman remonstrated strongly against the injustice of blaming me for the sentiments of his daughter. They observed it was not impossible but that I might in future possess a charge under Government, and in that case the Governor could not do better to insure the happiness of his family. Their arguments at length had some effect on the Governor, who became calm, and addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen, you are witness to the declaration just now made by my daughter, of which I should be much ashamed; but, since you find it excusable, I pardon her, and undertake to employ my credit in mitigating the sentence of

exile against Benyowsky. I therefore request that you will sign an act which I shall propose to you, which, according to the laws of the Czar Peter, discharges every exile from his sentence. This law enacts that every exile who shall have discovered a plot formed against Government, or the chiefs, shall be discharged from the rigour of his sentence. The exile before you has a right to this absolution, for he has revealed to us the attempt of Casarinow to poison us. Without his declaration neither you nor myself would now have been alive. You cannot therefore dispense with signing this act of absolution, which we will submit to the senate, with our letters of recommendation, for the sake of the form only, for the ordinances of the Emperor do not prescribe this to be done, but are positive in enacting that every governor or voivode, president of a college, or chancellor, with the consent of his counsellors, shall be authorized to pronounce this absolution."

This speech of the Governor was received like an oracle, and the Chancellor invited the governor immediately to call a meeting the following day, to carry his resolution into effect, The hettmann made haste to engage Madame Nilow to join them, in order to confirm the Governor in this step, who beholding his family at his feet, and the Chancellor and the hettman urging every entreaty, consented at last, and complimented me with my liberty.

CHAPTER XI.

The Count is in danger of being put to death by his associates—Their suspicions removed—An embarrassing dilemma—Presents made to the Count—The manner of his absolution from the sentence of exile—He makes a proposal to the council—Generous disposition of the chief inhabitants of the town. Consequences of the Count's advancement.

THIS business was not conducted with secrecy. The Governor's family divulged the adventure confusedly, and the whole town was informed of my approaching absolution before I left the Governor's house; which I did, after having received orders to appear the following day at the Chancery at eleven in the morning. In my way I met many persons who loaded me with compliments, and when I arrived at home I found Messrs. Panow, Stephanow, Baturin, and Crustiew, who accosted me with some confusion, and informed me that I must appear before the general meeting. I inquired what pressing affair demanded my presence, and observed that I had very agreeable news to communicate to them; but great was my astonishment at the answer of Panow, who informed me that this news would cost me my life, to which he added that I was a traitor, and that nothing more could be said on an affair which was of sufficient importance to be decided according to the constitution I had myself established.

Surprised at this discourse, I had no time to consider what motives could lead them to act in this manner. It was in vain that I solicited my best friend, Crustiew, to give me some intimation of the business, for he refused, by observing that he was forbidden to speak to me, and that it was necessary I should appear before the assembly. I then entered, and the first objects which presented themselves to my sight were two

of my associates, armed with sabres, at the door, and a goblet on the table filled with poison. These preparations led me to suppose that I was charged with treachery, and that the proceedings of the Governor in my favour had induced my companions to believe that I had accused and betrayed them. On this supposition I demanded leave to speak, and immediately related to them everything which had passed at the Governor's house, together with the decision of the Governor. After having ended my discourse I demanded judgment. Consternation and joy was on every countenance. Mr. Panow advanced towards me the first, and, throwing himself at my feet, entreated my pardon, affirming that he was the author of all that I saw. He informed me that as he could not believe my connection with the chiefs of the Government was simply the effect of accident, he had long suspected me of treachery, and had not ceased to follow my steps; and that he had, on that very morning, followed me, and was convinced of my duplicity, when he heard that, by virtue of the ordinance of the Czar Peter, I was declared to be at liberty: a conviction which inspired him with the resolution of assassinating me; though he had deferred the execution of his purpose merely with the intention of informing his companions of their danger. That in consequence of his declaration they had determined to put me to death; but that the preservation of my life was owing to the resolution of Mr. Crustiew, who persuaded the meeting to hear me before they proceeded to the commission of a crime, as he would answer for me at the expense of his life. And as the assurance of Mr. Crustiew was now found to be true he entreated my pardon for his precipitate haste. I embraced this worthy associate, and thanked him for his care, at the same time begging that he would in future entertain a better opinion of me.

The fears of the association being thus dissipated, they indulged themselves in the pleasing reflections, how much my liberation would lend to insure the execution of our project. After the rising of the assembly I consulted with Messrs. Crustiew and Protopop about my apprehensions respecting the Governor's daughter and her mother, who, seeing me in a state of liberty, pressed me to marry her, which was out of my

power, because I was already married, and resolved to prosecute our voyage. The first represented to me that my marriage being by compulsion would be unlawful, and that I might clear myself of it on my return into Europe. The second proposed to me to repeat the form of marriage without entering into any engagement; to which effect he promised to give me a certificate. They both endeavoured to convince me that I needed not hesitate to comply with the solicitations of the Governor's family for the purpose of supporting the common interest. But I resolved to do nothing which might injure my reputation. I therefore declared that I would put off this affair as long as I could, in order to gain time, and that I did not despair of obtaining their consent to defer the marriage till the month of May; at which period it would be in our power to settle the business in another manner. I confess that in my own mind I felt the utmost regret and uneasiness to be the instrument of distress to an amiable girl whom I tenderly loved, but the hope that she might, at some future period, be happier in a marriage more suitable to her situation, tended in some measure to render my reflections less afflicting.

I employed the rest of the day in preparations to make a decent appearance at the Chancery, and in the evening I waited upon the Chancellor and the hettman to thank them for their favours. Both these gentlemen loaded me with compliments; the Chancellor obliged me to accept a traineau, very elegantly constructed of whalebone and gilt, which was drawn by four white dogs, and accompanied by a slave to direct them; and the hettman presented me with a parca, or pelisse of beaver's skin, edged with the skin of the black fox, together with a bonnet of blue velvet bordered with sables.

On the 8th all the exiles assembled at my house. At ten o'clock the secretary of the Chancery, Mr. Szudeikin, came to invite me to the Chancery. I accordingly ordered my sledge to be harnessed, and waited upon the Chancellor, attended by my companions, who remained at the gate. The secretary introduced me into the council chamber, where I found the Governor sitting as president, with eighteen other principal gentlemen, including the Chancellor and the hettman. The

Governor made a very long speech in order to render me truly sensible of my good fortune in having fallen into the hands of just and enlightened men. He enlarged much on the mildness of the Russian Government and the excellence of its laws, and concluded his discourse by praising the Empress, whose virtues he extolled to the skies. After his sermon, he ordered the chancellor to read the act of my absolution, which was word for word as follows:

"Actuated by the inviolable duty of justice, after having materially examined the behaviour of Augustus Samueloviez,* an exile to this place, by order of the governing senate, and (pursuant to) the will of her Imperial Highness, Catharine, Empress and Autocratix of all the Russias, I do declare him absolved from the proscription pronounced in the sentence against him, and I do command his remission, conformably to the intention of the legislature, explained in the fifth section of the instructions concerning the laws against proscribed and exiled persons; and in order that the causes which have determined me to this proceeding may be perpetuated in justice, I command that the *species facti* be printed beneath the present act, as it has been presented unto me by the Chancellor.

"May it please his excellency the Governor to consider the declaration of Augustus Samueloviez, who discovered the attempt to poison, made by Casarinow, and intended to cause the death of the Governor, with the principals of the regency, doubtless to carry into execution a design of seizing the Government of this province, and depriving the empire of the dominion thereof. That the said Augustus Samueloviez, in order to prove the criminal intention, hazarded his own life, with the lives of several of his companions, by making a trial of the force of the poison on his own person; and that in this manner, at the peril of his life and the lives of his friends, he clearly proved the guilt of the above-named: which evidence was lastly confirmed by Casarinow himself, who confessed his

* Augustus Samueloviez, *i.e.*, Augustus, son of Samuel. The Russians, in their proper names of persons make use of patronymics, which are formed by adding "viez" or "vitch" to the Christian name of the father, in the case of gentlefolk; and by the suffix "off" or "eff," or "ow," when applied to those of inferior rank.

crime. May it therefore please his excellency the Governor, conformably to the ordinances of the late Czar Peter, to pronounce the sentence of absolution from exile, in favour of the said Augustus Samueloviez.

"Signed, NOVOZILOW, Chancellor,
SZUDEIKIN, Secretary."

The present order, containing the act of absolution, after being read in council, was exhibited and published conformably to the laws. When the reading was finished, the Governor caused me to approach the table, presented me a looking glass, and commanded me to kiss it. This ceremony being finished, he embraced me himself, as did likewise all the other members present at the council; immediately after which, six of the guards entered with a drum, and went out with the secretary in order to publish my absolution through the town. During the time they were executing their commission, I requested the Governor's leave to make a proposal, and being permitted to speak, I addressed the council. I assured them that after having rendered a service of this nature to the State, I was determined to employ my whole life in endeavouring to promote the interests of that part of the nation which had interested itself so highly in my welfare; and that in consequence of this disposition, I proposed to establish the cultivation of grain on the southern point of land, and to clear a quantity of pasture ground for the support of cattle, sufficient to maintain the inhabitants of Kamchatka. In order to carry this project into execution I only requested permission to establish myself with the other exiles in that country, with forty natives as labourers.

The Chancellor spoke in favour of my proposal, and the Governor consented to report it for discussion at the following meeting. At the breaking up of the council, I was invited to dinner; but before I departed I joined my companions, and explained to them the reasons of my proposal, which they found advantageous to the purpose of our union.

Numberless were the compliments I received at dinner. The family of the Governor in particular expressed their satisfaction, more especially Miss Aphanasia, who was un-

commonly attentive to her dress that day. Twenty-two principal gentlemen of the town were present at this dinner; and one of them, named Casimir, took the lead at the dessert, by observing that the praise of good actions ought not to be confined to words, but that as the Governor had satisfied the claim of justice, it was the duty of society to bestow the reward of merit; he therefore proposed that the citizens should unite to contribute a fund for my establishment.

The Governor replied to this proposition that he seriously intended to make my fortune; and that as he designed to give me his daughter in marriage, it was his business to take care of my establishment. But the Chancellor contradicted this resolution by declaring that as the Governor had a numerous family, prudence required that he should not impair his own private fortune, and consequently, that he might permit those to act who were desirous of testifying their gratitude to me. The hettman seconded the Chancellor, and the Governor at last consented that Casimir should pursue his plan, and the Governor declared that he would not postpone the marriage between myself and his daughter longer than till he received orders from the governor-general of Irkuczk, from whom he had requested the creation of the office of lieutenant-general of the police in my favour.

The company applauded this resolution, and the evening passed very agreeably to every one but myself. No words can describe the confusion of my mind when I reflected that I was forced to deceive a charming and innocent girl. I could not conceal my consternation from the penetrating eye of Madame Nilow; and it was with the utmost embarrassment that I contrived to elude her inquiries by pretending that my apparent affliction was occasioned by the mortification of finding myself separated from the company of the other exiles, for whose friendship I had a very great value. The avowal of so natural a sentiment satisfied her, and she endeavoured to remove these reflections by promising that she would contrive means to mitigate their hardships; but at the same time she desired me to fix my future residence in the Governor's house, where apartments were provided for me in order that I might be at hand to assist in the public business.

This proposal greatly embarrassed me: but as I had a thousand reasons for refusing this mark of goodness, I urged every argument I could think of to persuade her to suffer me to reside as usual without the town and fortress, to which she at last consented.

CHAPTER XII.

Proof of the confidence and attachment of the exiles to the Count—The Governor and council liberate the exiles—The Count promises to procure the enlargement of the person who attempted to poison him—Farther progress of the exiles in their projects to escape—An entertainment proposed—The gentlemen of the town make presents to the Count—Good effects of the Count's exertions in favour of his enemy.

UPON my return home I found my friends assembled. Many of them shed tears of joy, and declared that, since my good fortune was established, and they could depend on my resolution, they were resolved to recede from the oath of union, in order to avoid exposing my life in future. They protested that their resolution was unanimous, and that they made this declaration in consequence of their personal attachment to me. I thanked them for this singular mark of friendship, but I declared my fixed and unalterable determination to break the bonds of our slavery, and proposed to them to renew the oath of union. Mr. Panow advised us to send an express to Nisneynovogrod to inform our companions of what had happened, in order that no false account might cause them to give up the hope of recovering their liberty. Pursuant to this advice, Sibeaw was dispatched, and as the course of business at my school was interrupted by these intervening events, I entrusted the care of it to Mr. Winbladth, major of the confederation, who was taken a prisoner and exiled with me, and I nominated Mr. Meden as his assistant, who had been long exiled, and was of the same country as the major, namely, Sweden.

On the 9th Mr. Baturin finished the charts which I had composed of the northern navigation. I presented them *t*

the Chancellor, who, after expressing his approbation, laid them before the council, and obtained the Governor's consent to send them to the College of Admiralty at Petersburg. On the same day the Chancellor presented the report for intrusting me with an establishment to cultivate the land in Lopattka, and, after a short discussion, the Governor passed an act in council, by which the assistance of Government was promised me in forming my establishment. By this act I found myself authorised to form a colony of exiles. For the partiality of the Governor and principal men of the town was of such admirable service in explaining the ordinances of the Czar Peter, that the Governor thought himself authorised to declare in this act, that all exiles who should repair to the country of Lopattka to form a colony, and settle there for the purpose of cultivating the ground, should be absolved from their sentence of exile; and all this was done in conformity to the sense of the laws, which were found to declare clearly that every proscribed and exiled person who shall have rendered essential services to the State, of such a nature as tends to its preservation, shall be capable of receiving the favour of absolution. This proceeding of a whole council convinced me that there are no laws which cannot be interpreted as convenience may dictate. The present day's work completed my satisfaction; for after I had declared in the council that I had disposed all the exiles to undertake the establishment of this new colony, the Governor commanded me to bring them, that they might sign their declaration to that effect. I flew home with this order, and assembled my friends, to whom I explained my message. They immediately followed me to the Chancery to sign their submission; in consequence of which the Governor caused an amnesty to be published in their favour.

The rapidity of my operations astonished every one; but that which gave me the greatest pleasure was the conviction that no one suspected my intentions. When we left the Chancery we proceeded in a body to return our thanks to the Governor, the Chancellor, the hettman, and other counsellors: the rest of the day was employed in visiting the merchants and other inhabitants of the town. While I was at the house

of Kolosow, the hettman, the family of Casarinow entreated me to cause him to be set at liberty, and to procure a repeal of the sentence by which he was condemned to labour in the mines. I promised this afflicted family that I would use my best endeavours, but as I had learned that his fortune, which was confiscated, amounted to more than sixty thousand roubles, I clearly saw how difficult the business would be; for it was certain that I could not save this unhappy man, but on condition that he should give up all thoughts of reclaiming his property. I informed his wife of my fears; but she assured me that her husband would submit to the sacrifice on condition that the governor would employ him in a voyage to the Kurelles Islands to collect the tributes. I therefore promised to obtain his liberty; and as this act of generosity might add greatly to my reputation, I determined to use every effort to overcome such obstacles as might present themselves.

On the same evening I had an opportunity to speak to the Chancellor, and accordingly proposed the affair to him. He was displeased at first, but when I informed him that Casarinow renounced his fortune, he hesitated, and a short time after told me he had thought of a method to remove every difficulty; but that he would communicate his ideas to the Governor and the hettman, and give a decisive answer in the course of twenty-four hours.

On the 10th I assembled a committee, in which, after having discussed our common interests, we resolved to make the necessary preparations to repair to the country of Lopattka in the month of March, at which place we should pretend to busy ourselves in establishing our colony; and that at a proper opportunity we would request a vessel from the Governor to transport our effects and provisions, on the arrival of which we would take possession of it, and bid adieu to this wretched place.

In conformity with this resolution we determined to collect provisions sufficient for a voyage by sea of three months. At the breaking up of the committee I proposed to give the society an entertainment on the occasion of our absolution from slavery, to which all the principal men of the town should be invited. My proposal was approved of, and Mr.

Crustiew was directed to make every requisite preparation.

About noon Mr. Casimir came to inform me that the meeting of the gentlemen of the town had determined to make me a present of six thousand roubles, one-third in ready money, one-third in merchandise, and the rest in provisions and articles of domestic use. I accepted this mark of generosity, and as the message was delivered in writing, I returned my answer in the same manner, taking care to use every expression suitable to the extent of my gratitude.

After the departure of Mr. Casimir I waited upon the Governor to dinner, and obtained his permission to give the proposed entertainment at the town-house. It was fixed on the 15th, because the Governor was desirous of setting out on his journey on the 16th.

When dinner was ended the Chancellor came in together with the hettman. They conferred a short time with the Governor in his closet, after which I was sent for, and was informed that the liberty of Casarinow was granted, on condition that he should immediately go to the Kurelles Islands, and remain there two years, which was a sufficient time to repair his loss; for these gentlemen were not at all disposed to restore his fortune. The Governor charged me with the message, which I immediately executed. Upon entering the prison I saw this unhappy man at my feet, entreating my forgiveness for having attempted to take away my life. I interrupted his lamentations by demanding what reason he could have to hope for favour from me? He replied by conjuring me to have pity on him, and pardon him on account of his unfortunate family. At length, however, being desirous of removing his apprehensions, I proposed to him the conditions under which I believed I could deliver him from imprisonment. These he accepted with professions of eternal gratitude, and at last, when he was told that I had obtained permission for him to go to the Kurelles Islands, he assured me that a single year would be sufficient to re-establish his fortune. Whereupon I declared that he should be set at liberty as soon as the vessels were ready to convey him there.

This information transported him with joy. He embraced my feet, and used all the expressions of the most lively sentiments of gratitude.

Being thus assured of Casarinow's readiness to accept the terms proposed, I quitted him to render an account to the Governor, who was delighted with his compliance, and ordered the Chancellor to expedite him, with the sergeant Cusmina, to the Kurelles Islands. I perceived that the Governor was desirous of conversing in private with the Chancellor and the hettman, and therefore took my leave. As I passed through the town I called on the family of Casarinow, and informed them of the favour the Governor had granted him. I naturally expected acknowledgment, and thanks, but my heart was not proof against the surprise of beholding a family at my feet, who called me their protector and benefactor. Ivan Csorni, who since the affair of Casarinow called no more upon me, came likewise to embrace me, and addressed himself in the following words: "Listen, my friend. I was informed of your attempt as well as Casarinow, and consequently I had as great a right to be your enemy as he. We were partners in the accusation intended to be made against you, but I was not an accomplice in the attempt to poison you. The misfortune which afterwards happened to my relation caused me to swear your destruction. Your generosity to him has reconciled me, and I not only swear to keep all I know in secrecy, but I likewise devote myself to your service in everything you may require me to do."

This explanation astonished me, but I said no more in answer than that I hoped his gratitude would be shown in forgetting all that had passed. Upon my return I related the incidents of the day to my companions, who rejoiced at the happy situation of our affairs.

CHAPTER XIII.

Preparations for marriage—Singular preliminary custom—Precautions for preserving secrecy and securing the progress of the undertaking of the exiles during the Count's absence—Grand projects for creating governments and empires in the North—An entertainment on the occasion of the freedom of the exiles.

ON the 11th Madame Nilow sent to desire me to wait upon her, and informed me that she wished her daughter might do the honours of the entertainment of the 15th, and that she should be publicly declared my future spouse. As I could find no proper excuse I consented to her request, upon which she caused her daughter to be called, and recommended her to be careful that the business of the day should be conducted in such a manner as to do her honour.

After the departure of her mother, my pretended future spouse reproached me for being more attached to the society of my companions than her's; and I answered her pressing remonstrances by promising to wait upon her as frequently as possible.

About noon, being engaged to dine with the Governor, who now called me by no other name than son, he requested me to compose a short description of Kamchatka, in a form proper for the press, as he was desirous of exhibiting proofs of his abilities. I promised to write the work according to his ideas, and engaged to finish it during our journey. He expressed his satisfaction at this promise, and embraced me, saying that he hoped by this work to obtain the government of Ochoczk. After dinner he informed me in confidence that the affair of Casarinow had been worth eighteen thousand roubles to him, but that the rascal would be well replenished by the voyage he was going to make.

In the evening, the Governor being invited to sup with Ivan Csorni, I accompanied him with my intended lady. Mr. Proscurakow engaged me to play at chess, and a very strong party was formed. The Chancellor and the hettman were on my side, and Proscurakow, Ottlaskow, and Ribnikow were on the opposite side. The game was for five hundred roubles ready money, twenty dozen martins' skins, twelve beavers', and twelve black foxes' skins. After a long contest I won the game, as well as three others following. Our play detained us till three in the morning, and my share of the winnings amounted to near eight hundred roubles.

The Governor took a pleasure in looking on, and I did not quit the company till about four in the morning. When I returned home, I found Mr. Crustiew and my other friends very uneasy at my absence; but their apprehensions disappeared as soon as they saw me. The fatigue of the foregoing day required that I should take some repose. I therefore retired to sleep, after reminding Mr. Crustiew of his having undertaken that every preparation should be regularly made for the 15th. When I awoke at five in the evening, I had the pleasure to see my pretended future spouse beside me, who expressed the most lively apprehensions for my health, and declared that she would not quit me; for which purpose she had already sent to her mother to inform her that she had found me indisposed, and was resolved to sit up with me. It was to no purpose for me to represent that her attachment to me might injure her in the opinion of her father, for she persisted in her resolution; and during the discussion of this point between us Madame Nilow's maid arrived and brought word that her mistress approved the determination of her daughter, and for that reason had sent her servant and her bed; after which message, and the usual inquiries concerning my health, the servant returned. This day passed without any unfavourable incident.

On the 13th I conducted my pretended future spouse to the Governor's, and was received in the most affectionate manner. The Governor took me into his closet, begged me to come in future every morning for an hour to read the reports and letters which he received, in order to make a regular statement

of their contents, and draw out the answers or orders. As his desire was a command to me, I endeavoured to perform this task with zeal, and to the utmost of my abilities; after which I took my leave, as I was desirous of passing the day with my companions, in order to regulate certain arrangements necessary to secure our correspondence during my journey.

When I returned home I was complimented by my companions, who presented me with a complete and magnificent habit of red satin, edged with gold lace and faced with sables, with a pair of buskins very curiously embroidered, at the same time requesting that I would wear it on the 15th. After this prelude, which was attended with every testimony of friendship and regard, I appointed a general meeting to be held after dinner. I exhorted my associates of the committee to be more particularly careful than ever to preserve our secret, as the least indiscretion would ruin us all. I did not conceal from them my fears respecting my absence, for which reason I desired them to make an oath of obedience, without restriction, to the orders of Mr. Crustiew, and to do nothing without his consent. And as I was desirous of maintaining a regular correspondence with Mr. Crustiew, I requested them to appoint me three companions of the ordinary number, who might pretend to be hired by me; in order that in case of any misfortune or unlucky incident I might not be unsupported, but might avail myself of their services to send notice to the other associates in time, if any treacherous discovery should come to light. In consequence of my proposal it was determined that Ivan Kudin, George Lapkin, and Nicholas Rubatow should follow me, each having a sledge and being well armed, and attended by a native on whom he could depend. Mr. Panow added that he did not think this precaution sufficient, but was desirous that several of the society should offer their services to the Governor to hire sledges and to conduct themselves for his security and convenience. Mr. Panow's proposition was agreed to, and Mr. Kuznezow undertook to propose this affair to the Governor. So that as the attendants of Mr. Kuznezow would consist of six sledges, I should by that means have an addition of twelve armed men, which, together with myself and the six others, amounted to nineteen, a sufficient number to

withstand the first check. This precaution being settled, we passed that day and the following evening in an agreeable manner.

On the morning of the 14th Mr. Hettman came to see me, and intreated me to persuade the Governor to send him to Petersburg in the spring, and support his request that her Imperial Majesty would permit him to form an establishment in the Aleuthes Islands, under himself as governor. The ambition of this personage was well known to me, though I could not avoid smiling in my own mind at the enthusiasm of the man, who, with very little abilities, was desirous to become a legislator. Nevertheless, as his friendship and good will were necessary to me, I promised to obtain the Governor's consent to his request, and engaged to draw up a memorial, on the part of the Governor, in support of his proposal. My complaisance led him to profess the strongest attachment to me, to which he added a promise that on his return I should be invested with the government of Kamchatka, while my future father-in-law should be established at Ochoczk. According to his ideas our triumvirate was to be unalterable; but as the Chancellor was left out of the plan, I proposed to this new governor to confer upon him the government of Kamchatka; observing that I should be contented to attend him to the Aleuthes Islands in the quality of second, where I might be of the greatest service to him in the conquest of California, a project which stood foremost in the imagination of Mr. Hettman.

The tone of conviction which I used in saying this to the hettman encouraged him to give full scope to his imagination; and the remainder of the conversation clearly proved the extravagance of his ideas; for I could easily perceive that it was with some reluctance that he retained the idea of a state of dependence while he had it in his power to become a sovereign.

After his departure I communicated the subject of his visit to my companions, and could not avoid reflecting how little the Russian Senate, by whose decree I was sent into exile, were aware of the projects which then employed my mind, and more especially the ideas to which I gave birth, of establishing

empires, and robbing the Spaniards of their remote possessions by arranging this chimerical project in writing. Nevertheless it led me to the probability that at some future time California might be taken by the Russians, and that the Spanish colonies might, sooner or later, become their prey.

About noon I waited on the Governor and gave him an account of the project of the hettman, with so many reasons in its favour, that he declared himself satisfied with it, seduced, no doubt, by the hope of obtaining the government of Ochoczk. After dinner, when the Chancellor and hettman arrived, the proposition of the latter was treated of at large, and I saw with the greatest satisfaction that all these three personages adopted my plan, which they commissioned me to draw out. It therefore lay with me to create these three governors, to whom I accordingly promised the utmost exertions of my pen in their favour. This day gave me a decided superiority at Kamchatka. Hitherto I had been useful to these three chiefs, but when they adopted a system the composition of which rested with me, I became more than useful, for I was then indispensably necessary to them. In the evening I retired to inquire concerning the preparations for our entertainment. Mr. Crustiew gave me an ample account, from which I was satisfied that every particular was arranged in the best manner.

On the 15th, at nine o'clock, all the exiles came to me, perfectly well and even richly clothed. We proceeded from my house to that of the Governor in twenty-three sledges, each drawn by four dogs, where we were received affectionately. The Chancellor and the hettman being present saved us the trouble of going to their houses. The Governor gave us a list of persons whom he desired to be admitted. I then detached several parties of my companions to invite the guests, while myself, with Mr. Crustiew and my intended spouse, went to the town-house to give orders. We had eleven musicians, and sixty-seven covers were served up to thirty-five gentlemen and thirty-one ladies, for the young gentlemen and unmarried ladies were invited only to the dance which followed the entertainment. As the hettman had lent me three pieces of artillery, we fired them off on the arrival of the Governor's

family. At two o'clock the company sat down to table, and did not rise till five, at which hour the younger part of the company began the dances, which lasted till three. Mr. Kuzneczow insinuated himself so well into the favour of the Governor, that his company, and the offer of six sledges to carry the Governor's effects and equipages, were accepted of. He immediately informed me of his success; for which I embraced and thanked him with all my heart.

When the Governor retired, he told me he would defer his journey till the 17th, as he was desirous of a day's repose after this entertainment; a resolution which was very agreeable to me, as I myself felt the same necessity for an interval of rest.

When the company broke up, Madame Nilow presented her youngest daughter, and declared her my future spouse. This attracted compliments from all sides, with a degree of jealousy from some of the merchants and young officers.

When I had seen the Governor home, as I excused myself from remaining at his house, Miss Nilow accompanied me home, to look to my health, as she said; and I passed the whole of the 16th within doors, till the evening, about six o'clock, when I conducted my intended lady home, and received the orders of the Governor, who placed the whole care of his voyage and the business of a secretary upon me. Our attendants were to consist of nineteen sledges and forty-six persons, and our departure was settled at six in the morning of the 17th.

CHAPTER XIV.

A Journal of an excursion made by the Governor of Bolsorezky Ostrogg, in company with the Count de Benyowsky.

THE following is a journal of our travels. On the 17th in the morning, about ten o'clock, we quitted Bolsorezky Ostrogg, and arrived at Molerowka, at which place the tajon, being informed of our arrival, regaled us with fish and cavear, and made the Governor a present of several furs. The weather was severe and frosty, with an easterly wind in our faces.

On the 18th we left Molerowka, and proceeded to Baniowka, where we were received and entertained by exiles, who likewise made the Governor a valuable present of furs.

On the 19th we left Baniowka, and the river of the same name, and, after much labour and fatigue, we arrived at Herebostova. Here the tajon of Koanik complained to the Governor that a soldier of the garrison of Verchney Ostrogg, after having violated his daughter, had slain her. In consequence of this accusation, which was proved, the Governor directed me to expedite an order to Verchney Ostrogg, that the said soldier should suffer the knout until he died.

On the 20th we arrived at Chiakollautka, almost martyred by the impetuosity of the wind, and very near being swallowed up by the drifts of snow. We had scarcely entered the jourt of the tajon before it blew a perfect hurricane, and in the morning we found our dwelling buried under the snow. The country people exerted themselves to open a passage through the snow, in order to get out. Being desirous of taking a view of the country, I ascended through the hole; but it was impossible to discover the least signs of any house, though I knew that our attendants were lodged in nine different adjacent

jourts. The continuance of the hurricane, which considerably augmented the quantity of snow about us, compelled us to remain here till the 25th.

On the 29th we passed near another lake named Kimak, and proceeded to Alzime. On the 30th we left Alzime, and arrived at Tahallka, where the governor determined to rest. The tajon, who was one of the most considerable in the province, did not fail to regale us with reindeer's flesh, the fruit of larac,* and jukola,† which is a kind of fish dried.

On the 2nd of February we proceeded to Kronotowa, where I was desirous of seeing the headland of Kronock, which lay to the eastward of us, while the lake of Kronock lay to the west; but the Governor opposed my design, by assuring me that the road was not cleared, and I might probably be buried in the snow. On the 3rd we proceeded to Katham, from which place I sent to Nisney Conratiew, to advise my companions of our arrival, and to direct them to bring a present of their finest furs for the Governor, the Chancellor, and the hettman. On the 4th we arrived through a very bad road, over mountains and precipices, to Chovalova, where we found Mr. Norin, commanding officer at Nisney, together with the principal merchants, waiting for us; who informed the Governor that considerable presents were prepared for his arrival in town.

On the 5th, after having passed the river Kamerath, a part of the exiles presented themselves before the Governor, to whom they announced their intention of making presents, and afterwards joined our suite. On the same day, about six in the evening, we arrived at the town or village of Verchney, where the Governor alighted at the habitation of the protopop, and I lodged with him; but the others fixed their lodgings with the townspeople. On the 6th I received orders to for-

* The Siberians make economical use of the red currants of the cassis, kara, and also of a preparation of the wild buck-wheat, which they call kyrlyk. The larac spoken of may be one of these or similar preparation of food (*cf.* "Pallas," vol. iv. p. 503).

† The Ostiak women, says Pallas (vol. iv. p. 63), prepare salt fish in three manners: the first is the poséem, the best of which is made of the fish called mouksoun. The second is the varka, cooked in a caldron, and the third is the joutta, which is preserved in bags of sturgeon's skin. This last is probably the jukola of Benyowsky.

ward all the presents to Bolsha, and, from a moderate estimation, I found that the Governor's journey to Nisney had been worth near seven thousand roubles to him.

We remained in this town till the 13th; and as the severity of the cold did not allow me to make any excursions, I employed my time in drawing up a description of Kamchatka, in order to promote the designs of the Governor. My work was interrupted only by the game of chess, which was eagerly studied by every one who was desirous of distinguishing himself from the common rank of people. My winnings at this game amounted to near thirteen thousand roubles, in furs and ready money, which the Chancellor and the hettman shared with me.

On the 13th we reached the village of Kamenin, where all my projects would have been overthrown if a lucky accident had not averted this most imminent danger. On the 14th, in the morning, I came out to direct Mr. Kuzneczow to send an express to our associates at Bolsha, to advise them of our return. As soon as I came out I was accosted by a native, who requested to be introduced to the Governor, as he said he had a letter for him from an exile who had been taken ill, and was by that means prevented from waiting on the Governor himself. I ordered this man to follow me, and went with him to Kuzneczow, where, after opening the letter, I saw it contained an account of the secrets of our union, from one of the associates named Levantiew. This man came from Nisney to join the Governor, and make his report in person; but, happily for our cause, a violent colic seized him in the middle of his journey, and forced him to adopt the expedient of sending a letter to the Governor. Upon this information I ordered Kuzneczow to depart immediately with Ivan Kudrin, and dispatch the traitor. I then rejoined the Governor, with whom I breakfasted, after which we proceeded on our journey.

We arrived at Kolitova, where I requested the Governor to remain, on pretence of visiting the volcano of Krasnaia. He consented, and on the 15th we proceeded to view this famous volcano. I approached within five toises of its mouth, where a sudden exhalation of sulphureous fume surprised me, and caused me to fall backwards among the hot ashes, which burnt

my face. But, fortunately for me, there were several natives of Kamchatka near at hand, who were provided with iron hooks, with which they dragged me out, and, after having rubbed the burned parts with whale oil, they reconducted me to Kolitova, where I found Mr. Kuzneczow returned from his expedition. He reported that Levontiew had declared his resolution to his cousin at Nisney, who, not being able to dissuade him from it, had poisoned him in a glass of brandy, which they drank together; and that, on the arrival of Kuzneczow, this unhappy wretch was at the point of death. He confessed his intention to Kuzneczow, and entreated, as a favour, that he would put him out of his misery, at the same time that he declared the society had nothing more to fear, since his letter was intercepted; because he had discovered his intention to no one but his cousin, who, faithful to his engagement, had poisoned him. This account gave me great satisfaction, and induced me to press the Governor to return; but, as he was determined first to visit Tigilb, nothing could be done but follow him.

On the 27th we arrived at Ivanka, and lastly, on the 28th, at Bolsheretzkoy Ostrogg, where I was received by my friends with that cordiality which can only be found in a society united by indissoluble interests. The fatigue of my journey did not allow me to proceed in copying out the work I had written for the Governor, which, for that reason, was not presented till some days after; and as it may convey some information respecting this remote part of the world, I shall insert it in this place

CHAPTER XV.

The narrative of the proceedings of the exiles resumed—Preparations for war—The constitution of the society of exiles altered—Consequence thence arising.

AFTER I had presented my abridgment of the history of Kamchatka to the Governor, who found it a masterpiece in his opinion, excepting that the expressions were not sufficiently free from a foreign manner, I applied all my attention to contrive such measures and precautions as might insure the success of my plan. The two instances of treachery I had experienced made me very uneasy; and as I had to do with people who were governed by the prejudice of religion, I could not take too much precaution to secure myself. In consequence of this, I convened all my associates on the 1st of March, about six in the evening. I opened the committee by giving an account of my voyage and the death of Levontiew, after which I declared that it appeared necessary, in my opinion, that we should summon all those who were absent, in order that we might be ready to defend ourselves, or to make an attack in case of necessity.

Mr. Meder informed the committee that he had prepared one hundred cartouch boxes, each containing forty-eight full cartridges, and sixty other charges fastened to each; and that Mr. Crustiew had collected, or caused to be made, sixty knives, which might be used to advantage instead of cutlasses, as each of them was eighteen inches long and three broad; that sixteen pair of pistols and thirty-six hatchets had been purchased; and that Mr. Panow had caused one hundred pikes to be made.

The number of our company amounted to fifty-nine persons,

every one of whom appeared fully determined to support each other. I therefore assured my companions that when we had united our forces we should be able to resist every open attack, provided we were all together. For this reason I ordered Mr. Panow to send an immediate express to those that were absent. The approach of spring permitted our coming together without exciting any suspicion; because the governor and all the inhabitants of Kamchatka were persuaded that our attention was taken up in preparations for our establishment on the extremity of the peninsula.

In order to give more strength to this general opinion, I proposed to the society that we should draw up a memorial, and present it to the Governor, in which we should pray him to grant us a ship to transport all our provisions and effects.

The meeting was on the point of breaking up, when Mr. Panow made a motion. He began by observing that the indiscretion of one single person would be sufficient to destroy all our hopes; for which reason he held it to be of the last necessity to resolve in this committee that the association should give up all authority into my hands, in order that, after having given so many proofs of my attachment to their interests, I might in future be dispensed from communicating my intentions respecting the measures I proposed to take, and the means which I intended to employ in carrying my plan into execution. He therefore proposed that the whole society should agree to submit implicitly to my orders, and to ratify this submission by an oath. He observed, that when the society had thus granted me the supreme authority, it would depend upon myself to nominate my council and the chiefs who might be proposed to the parties I should hereafter form.

Mr. Stephanow opposed this motion; but it was agreed to by the society, so that Mr. Stephanow remained alone. In order to dissipate his confusion, I declared that I would nominate him a member of my council, because, as he was the only one who mistrusted my intentions, he might superintend my actions. The meeting, however, opposed his nomination, at the instance of Mr. Panow, who declared that Stephanow had rendered himself incapable of any confidence on our part, and that it was merely with a view of excluding him from our

secrets that he had made his proposition. For he could not, as he observed, conceal that he was in possession of indications of treachery meditated on the part of Mr. Stephanow, though he had never chosen to search to the bottom of his intrigues, because he was desirous of sparing the life and honour of his relation. But he threatened, that if Mr. Stephanow did not consent to receive and submit to the future orders, till the day of our departure, he should hold himself obliged to employ every means in his power to come at the knowledge of his proceedings, and to expose him to the company.

I was extremely astonished to hear Mr. Panow express himself in this manner, in the presence of Mr. Stephanow, who did not answer a single word. The company, equally surprised, requested me to force Mr. Panow to declare what he knew; but I refused, by observing, that I respected the sentiments of Mr. Panow, and placed the most unbounded confidence in his declaration. Nevertheless I asked Mr. Stephanow, whether he would receive and obey the orders; to which he answered in the affirmative, at the same time that he loaded me with invectives, and declared that I was indebted to Mr. Panow for the preservation of my life. He called his relation to witness that he had no wish to betray the interests of the society, and that his vengeance had no other object in view than myself personally; a loss which, he said, was of little consequence, as he was well assured that many of the company were more capable of executing the appointment of chief than myself. He even took upon him to declare that I had abused my authority in putting Levontiew to death, in which affair his cousin had been deceived; though the truth was, that I was desirous of usurping his fortune after his death. This confident assertion excited the indignation of Mr. Kuzneczow, who presented the letter of the deceased to the society. The handwriting was immediately known, and the contents justified my resolution. This circumstance, however, produced no change in the ideas of Stephanow, who demanded the judgment of God between him and myself. This judgment is founded on a custom of the Cossacks, which establishes that the two opponents shall fight a duel, in presence of witnesses, and the person overcome is esteemed guilty.

His ridiculous appeal produced a division in the meeting. The most rational part were of opinion that it was necessary to interpose their authority, and condemn Stephanow; but the rest hesitated. Upon this division I thought it proper to answer for myself, being assured that it was of the greatest consequence that I should give proofs of resolution. I therefore replied that I accepted his challenge, and appointed ten o'clock the following day to give him satisfaction, at the distance of two leagues from our habitation.

The associates agreed to accompany us, under pretence of hunting. This incident occasioned the final termination of Mr. Panow's proposition to be retarded. He thought proper, nevertheless, to keep Mr. Stephanow in sight, and to endeavour to pacify him; but finding it impossible to produce any alteration in his disposition, as he himself told me, he abandoned him to his unhappy fate.

On the 2nd, in the morning, I ordered my sledge to be harnessed, and departed with Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow for the rendezvous. Mr. Panow attended his relation, and at nine o'clock the whole company were met, and determined that the quarrel should be decided with the broad-sword. As soon as we had received our arms he advanced towards me with unexampled temerity. I parried the first stroke he made, by engaging his sword, which broke in two; at which instant I stepped back to let him see that I was not disposed to take advantage of his being disarmed. The wretch then drew out a pistol, and fired it at me, without any other effect except that the ball grazed my left arm. His treachery irritated me to such a degree that I advanced towards him, though I saw a second pistol in his hand, which, however, missed fire. I then seized him and threw him on the ground. The associates immediately came up, and urged me to put him to death. This, however, I refused. I put him into their hands, requesting that they would spare the life of this wretched person; but my request did not prevent their insulting and ill-treating him on all sides.

Mr. Panow took charge of him, and we returned to our habitations, where I appointed a meeting of the committee at six in the evening; and in the meantime I visited the Governor,

with whom I dined. Our discourse ran upon the projects of Mr. Hettman. I omitted nothing to confirm the Governor in the hope of possessing the government of Ochoczk. After dinner Madame Nilow called me aside, and informed me that her daughter pressed her respecting the conclusion of our marriage, and consequently that it depended on me to persuade her to wait the moment fixed for our union; but that if I consented she would undertake to dispose her husband to agree to the celebration of our union.

Being thus obliged to gain time, I had no other means of excuse than to urge my intention of first making an excursion to fix my new colony, and to build a house, and arrange my household affairs, that her daughter might not be exposed to the rigour of the season, without every necessary convenience. After a long conversation this good mother adopted my reasons, and pleaded my cause with her daughter, to whom she introduced me; but as she soon after left us, the whole charge fell upon me, and it was with difficulty that I prevailed on this amiable young lady to consent to the delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Various proceedings in the Association for projecting the escape of the exiles from slavery.

AT six in the evening I repaired to our meeting, where Mr. Crustiew presided in my absence. He addressed me in the name of the whole company, which granted me the entire authority and most absolute command over the society. I accepted their submission, which was confirmed by mutual oath. After this ceremony, I required Mr. Panow to declare the motives which had determined Mr. Stephanow to attempt my life; he at first begged me not to press him in this respect, as he observed that he had given his word and oath to the unfortunate Stephanow, though he would not conceal that, in a long conversation with him since his last accident, he had obtained his permission to discover the causes that had produced his enmity towards me.

My friends all declared unanimously that it was necessary the wretch should himself appear, whereupon Kuzneczow immediately went out to fetch him. This unhappy man appeared before us, not only without the least confusion, but with a degree of audacity by which he appeared to dare me. I made a sign to Mr. Crustiew, who questioned him concerning the disposition of his mind and the causes which had produced his extreme malice against me. His answer was to the following effect:—

"Ever since I first knew your chief, I found it impossible to forgive that superiority which he has assumed over us all. My jealousy was often outrageous, but the confidence he reposed in me usually restored my recollection, and I have often applauded my own resolution in overcoming my natural

disposition, which led me to offend. I had even persuaded myself that I possessed the most unshaken attachment to him, when I was surprised by jealousy. I beheld the lovely daughter of the Governor, I became enamoured of her, and the certain knowledge of her approaching marriage with your chief caused me to swear his destruction. You know the rest, gentlemen, and I here protest, that though his generosity has preserved my life, it has made no change in my intentions. If, therefore, it be of any consequence to you to preserve his life, do not spare mine."

Several members of the society represented his folly and baseness to him, but his answers only showed that his mind was in a state of desperation. His situation, nevertheless, affected me, and I addressed myself to him in a mild and friendly manner, assuring him that I harboured no resentment against him, though he had just reasons to blame himself for the little confidence he reposed in me, before he made a determination to engage in so base an attempt against my safety. I acquainted him that it was very true I had an esteem for the Governor's daughter, and had reasons to think myself the object of her affections, but that I did not intend to marry her, and consequently his despair was premature. I then called the whole company to witness the truth of my assertions; whereupon the unhappy Stephanow fell at my feet, begged a thousand pardons, and entreated me to forget all that had passed. I promised the most absolute compliance with this request, on condition that he would inviolably submit to the orders of the society; and with a view to make sure of him, I nominated three associates to attend him and watch his motions. After I had thus received the satisfaction of recalling this man to his senses, I adjourned the committee till nine o'clock.

On the 3rd Mr. Panow waited upon me in the morning, to thank me for the goodness I had shown to his unhappy friend, at the same time that, in his name, he requested permission to see me. I consented the more willingly as I could depend upon the rectitude of Mr. Panow. Stephanow arrived about ten o'clock, and entreated me to confirm the promise that I did not intend to marry the Governor's daughter, which I did

with the utmost earnestness; upon which he begged that at the instant of my departure I would permit him to carry her off. Compassion for the man's unhappy situation, as well as the necessity of saving myself from the excess of his despair, induced me to promise, after advising him to be patient, that I would use every means to satisfy his wishes, as far as their accomplishment might agree with the inclinations of the young lady. This promise contented the poor man, who then returned to his confinement. Mr. Panow, after his departure, embraced me cordially, with many thanks for the pains I took to restore the peace of mind of his relation. The rest of the day was employed in composing the order of service for my companions, that every one might perform his task with propriety. In the evening the hettman came with several merchants to lose some games at chess, which happened to his wish, and produced no small profit; for his winnings did not amount to less than two thousand five hundred roubles that night.

On the 4th I received a letter from Nisney Ostrogg, from one of the associates, named Loginow, who advised that three exiles from Verchney Ostrogg had resolved to wait upon me, in order to be admitted into our society, though he was assured that their design was to regain their liberty by betraying me. He expressed his suspicions that these three exiles had been informed of our design by the late Levontiew, and concluded his letter by informing me that himself and Sibaew had resolved to return very soon, with all the other associates.

On the 5th I convened a meeting to draw up a petition to the Governor, requesting a vessel for the carriage of our utensils and effects to Lopattka, in order that we might form our establishment. After this business was dispatched, I informed them of the approaching arrival of our companions from Nisney Ostrogg, and the project of the three exiles of Verchney. With regard to the last affair, we resolved that we would confess to them that it was very true we had formed a design to escape from the tyranny under which we had suffered, but that since the Governor had extended his protection to us, we had determined to form a new colony at

Lopattka, and consequently we should propose to them to associate in our undertaking. I requested all the members of our society to converse with them agreeable to this arrangement.

Towards evening a certain merchant named Krasitnikow arrived, and proposed to me to enter into a contract with him for the sole furnishing of our colony with supplies; on which account he promised to give credit for twelve thousand roubles. I replied that this affair being a common concern to all the individuals who composed this new colony, I could not, for that reason, make any stipulation with him until I had first received their instructions, though I did not doubt their consent, on account of the great advantages the society would derive from such a credit. This poor merchant already devoured in imagination the great advantages which such an exclusion must produce. In hopes, therefore, of purchasing my good will, he drew a purse of two hundred roubles out of his pocket, which he pressed me to accept, and which I did not think proper to refuse, as it served the better to cover my intentions and confirm the public in the persuasion that a new colony was really about to be formed. With this view I likewise begged him to procure me some good carpenters and blacksmiths.

On the 6th I was invited to spend the day with the hettman, who put a confused mass of papers into my hands, containing his projects relative to the Aleuthes Islands; from which he begged me to compose a memorial to be presented to her Imperial Majesty. The head of this man was filled with such a numerous arrangement of chimerical projects that it was with the utmost difficulty I could dissuade him from the grossest absurdities in the foundation of his system; and perhaps I should not have succeeded if the Chancellor, who arrived during our conference, had not supported my reasoning.

In the evening the Governor's family arrived, who, at my request, invited some of my companions, among whom was Mr. Stephanow. I had before found an opportunity to persuade Miss Aphanasia to dissemble her sentiments towards him, which she promised to do, and I could depend on her

promise. In this manner we passed the evening very agreeably, and I had sufficient leisure to make my reflections on the weakness of the human mind, when I saw that the same Stephanow, who, a short time before had used every effort for my destruction, was now continually loading me with the titles of his guardian angel and benefactor.

Upon our departure I accompanied the Governor's lady home, at her own request, where I learned the discourse which had passed between Mr. Stephanow and Miss Aphanasia. The amount was that Stephanow had declared his love in due form, and entreated her to accept him for her husband. To this the lady answered, that as she had not yet had a sufficient opportunity to become acquainted with him she could not accede to his proposal, but that she hoped time would tend to advance his expectations. She assured him that she had no aversion to his countenance, but that the accomplishment of his hopes would, it was to be feared, find great obstacles on the part of her parents, who expected a fortune to secure her future welfare; and as Mr. Stephanow, being an exile, could have no possessions, the adjustment of that business would doubtless be very difficult. She further acquainted him that this greatest obstacle could only be removed by my protection, for which purpose she recommended him to employ every means of cultivating my friendship. I thanked this amiable young lady for her goodness, while at the same time I felt the sincerest regret to behold myself the instrument of her future affliction, though her kindness and friendship banished for the moment these afflicting thoughts from my mind.

CHAPTER XVII.

The exiles in danger of treachery—They endeavour to procure a vessel, but without success—Their military arrangement—Final project.

ON my return home Mr. Crustiew informed me of the arrival of Messrs. Ivaskin, Voladimir, and Puskarew, the three exiles concerning whom I had received information from Verchney. On the 7th, in the morning, I received a visit from Mr. Stephanow, who fatigued me by his meanness. At ten o'clock Mr. Ivaskin came to see me, together with his two companions. Their first conversation turned upon their sufferings and their birth, which they finished by compliments, and the observation that they had lived long enough in the world to be ready to submit to the command of so enlightened a chief as myself, at the same time that they declared the intention for which they had come so far; namely, to be in readiness to sacrifice their lives to promote my interest. I thanked them for their compliment, but declared that as I was equally wretched with themselves it was out of my power to serve them in any other way than by mitigating, in some measure, the hardships of their situation, for which purpose, in case they chose to associate with us to form our new colony, I would readily share with them the advantages which our labour and industry might procure. This reply had a very striking effect upon their countenances. Mr. Ivaskin replied that they had formed very different hopes, as they had heard from some of their intimate friends that I had resolved to pursue a plan to set the exiles at liberty; the hope of co-operating in which had been the sole motive of their application to me. Upon this declaration I assured them that it was true that the unhappy state of slavery in

which I found myself, as well as the sufferings of such a number of brave men, had led me, at first, to the determination of running all risks to procure our liberty, but that since Government had granted us such distinguished marks of protection, and had given us the means of procuring an easy and comfortable situation, I had changed my resolution, and had persuaded all my companions to relinquish theirs; in consequence of which they had resolved to assist in my labours. I continued to display to them at full length the advantages that might be expected to result from their enterprise; and I gave so flattering an account of the hopes I had conceived of its success that they were entirely convinced of its reality.

Several of our companions entered soon after, and the conversation turned entirely upon the means I had adopted to render our establishment successful. I took this opportunity of asking Mr. Ivaskin for his determination, who replied that the thing required mature examination and could not be decided in an instant; but Messrs. Puskarew and Voladimir declared that they would unite themselves to us without reserve, and at the same time proceeded to say, in the presence of Mr. Ivaskin, that as for him, they were determined to have no further connection with one who had formed the villainous project of obtaining his pardon by betraying a number of brave men. They declared that they had undertaken the journey with him expressly with the intention of frustrating his design, in case our views had been to escape from Kamchatka, and proceeded to relate the whole of Ivaskin's project, who, finding himself discovered, began to entreat for pardon. I said no more to him in reply than that the idea alone of so vile an undertaking convinced me that he could not escape disgrace and punishment, though, with respect to myself, as my conduct had been such as to fear no reproaches, I would consent to pardon him, on condition that he never again appeared in my sight.

After his departure, as I did not think it prudent to expose myself to the enterprises of so base a wretch, I immediately waited on the Chancellor, and acquainted him with Ivaskin's attempt. This account enraged the Chancellor to such a degree, that he immediately went to the Governor, and

obtained an order to dispatch Ivaskin to Verchney, with an injunction never to return again to Bolsha. Thus ended the attempt of this insidious wretch. My companions congratulated me on its happy issue; but I required them to discover none of our views or intentions to our new associates, because I was desirous first of gaining a knowledge of their real intentions before we should communicate any particulars of information to them.

On the 8th I convened the chiefs of our society, and went in a body with them to the Chancery to present our petition, which the Governor caused to be read. The decision of the council was, that, as Government could not furnish us with a vessel, we should be supplied by baydars, which are large boats. In consequence of which resolution, a sufficient number of these boats were ordered to be delivered to us, which, by making several trips along the shore, might render us services equally essential with those of a larger vessel. To prevent delay the Governor ordered them to be immediately delivered, and at the same time he caused the concession of the land of Lopattka to be given into my hands, together with the permission to begin my operations as soon as I thought proper.

This resolution, so unfavourable to our interests, destroyed our hope of possessing a vessel in our own power. I therefore assembled a committee, in which, after considerable discussion, it was determined that we should postpone our departure, under various pretences, till we could seize a proper opportunity of gaining possession of an armed vessel by main force, and by that means making our escape. And, in order that the execution of this project might not be left entirely to accidental events, we appointed the 12th for a secret committee, the members of which were immediately nominated, and were as follows: Myself, president; Mr. Crustiew, Mr. Kuzneczow, Mr. Baturin, Mr. Panow, Mr. Gourcsinin, and Mr. Wynbladth.

On the 12th Sibaew and Loginow arrived from Nisney-Ostrogg with twelve other associates. I dined this day with the Governor, and after dinner Madame Nilow acquainted me that she designed to cause a complete house to be constructed

in wood, that it might be carried to the spot where I might establish the principal place of my new colony. She assured me that I need not give myself any uneasiness concerning the arrangement of my household affairs, as she was determined to take charge of the whole; for she declared her intention that my marriage with her daughter should be celebrated in the month of May at farthest. This delay removed the apprehensions I had began to entertain. I thanked her with all my heart for the care she had the goodness to take of my future establishment, and passed the rest of the day in the company of this worthy family. It was very late before I returned home, where I found a letter from Mr. Norin, commanding officer at Nisney, which was brought by Sibeaw. This officer had forwarded to me a quantity of furs, in payment for the sum I had lent him. He felicitated me on my possession of the favour of the Governor, and my approaching marriage, and concluded his letter by requesting my protection.

On the 10th I conferred with the different persons appointed to form the committee of the 12th, and the rest of the day was employed in attending to our arms and ammunition.

On the 11th the private meeting was held by adjournment, to appoint the order of service, in case we should be obliged to act by main force. It was settled as follows in three divisions.

The left wing, commanded by Mr. Wynbladth.

Mr. Kuzneczow,
Stephanow,
Sibeaw,
Bielsky,
Lopcsow,
With thirteen associates.

The centre, Myself, chief.

Mr. Panow,
Ruimin,
Meder,
Srebernicow,
Loginon,
Baturin,
With fourteen associates.

The right wing, commanded by Mr. Crustiew.
Archidiacre Protopop.
The Prince Zadzkoy,
Brandorp,
Novozilow,
Lapkin,
Volkow,
With twelve associates.

With regard to Messrs. Puskarew and Voladimir, as well as Ismaelow and Bayarew, who had been before proposed by Mr. Stephanow, we determined to communicate no part of our intentions of them until after the expedition. On the same day it was determined that all the arms should be carried into our hall of meeting, where they should be kept charged, and in order to conceal them from view, an alcove should be erected for that purpose.

On the 12th, at eight in the morning, the committee met, wherein I proposed to consult respecting an expedient to procure a suitable vessel, in which we might effect our escape as soon as the port should be open by the thawing of the ice. Mr. Wynbladth proposed to embrace the opportunity, when a vessel should be on the point of sailing, as the captain usually gives an entertainment the evening before, at which a part of our society might introduce themselves with a quantity of poisoned liquors, which might be administered before the close of the night, so that about midnight it would be easy to get possession of the vessel; after which, on a signal being given, the whole association might go on board, and force the crew to set sail without the least opposition. His advice was rejected.

Mr. Gourcsinin was of opinion that we might make our escape with our boats, in which we might pass from one of the Kurelles Islands to another, and thence to Japan, where we might meet with Dutch vessels, and gain a passage to Europe. His advice was not approved of. The difficulty of navigating these boats in the open sea was attended with evident danger of separation; besides which, in order to arrive at the establishment of the Dutch at Nangasaky, it would be necessary to sail round Japan, which was impracticable.

Mr. Panow declared that he would not presume to make any proposal on account of his ignorance in sea affairs, but referred entirely to me for information.

Mr. Baturin proposed to give the Governor an entertainment on the pretended occasion of our approaching departure to Lopattka, to which we might invite all the principals of the town; and that in the middle of the night we should seize and keep them as hostages until Government consented to deliver a vessel to us. This proposition was likewise rejected, because complicated in the execution; for as the garrison amounted to two hundred and forty soldiers, a number greatly superior to ours, it would always be in their power to force us to set the persons at liberty, whom we might have seized; besides which, as there were near seven hundred Cossacks in the town, it was not probable that so considerable a number of armed men would not interest themselves in a quarrel of this nature. Lastly, a difficulty equally insurmountable arose from the officers of the marine in the port, who might collect their sailors belonging to nine or eleven vessels then in the harbour, and render our escape impossible.

Messrs. Kuzneczow and Crustiew pressed for my opinion, which I stated by representing to the committee the inconveniences annexed to the execution of the projects before proposed. I convinced them that every attempt by main force would be impracticable, and therefore not to be made, unless called for by the pressing situation of events. I avowed my readiness to sacrifice my life, but, at the same time, expressed my opinion that our affairs were not so desperate as that we should leave everything to chance. I informed them that my wish was to take advantage of the departure of the packet *St. Peter and St. Paul*, which would be ready on the 15th of May, and was manned by only twenty-two sailors, with five or six passengers. It was therefore my desire that ten or twelve of our associates should engage as sailors on board this vessel, and that Mr. Kuzneczow, being a merchant, might agree with the captain for his passage, by which means it would be easy to engage the captain by promises and money to receive several bales of furs secretly in the night, on pretence of evading the duties. This arrangement would require the captain to sail

out of the harbour in the evening, when it would be easy for us to board the vessel by the assistance of our boats, in which case we should find ourselves masters of the vessel without any effusion of blood, as our number would exceed that of the crew four to one; after which we might send back the sailors and officers in our boats, and continue our voyage.

The end of our debate was, that my proposition was unanimously approved, and the committee charged Mr. Kuzneczow to select twelve associates, and procure them to be entered on board that vessel. In the evening the whole society assembled, and received the agreeable news that the measures for carrying our enterprise into execution were absolutely settled, without endangering the life or safety of any one. This declaration set every mind at ease. After which I acquainted the society that I thought it necessary to make a journey to Lopattka, in order to fix the public opinion respecting the establishment of our colony. The meeting approved my proposition, whereupon I nominated Messrs. Stephanow, Panow, Wynbladth, and six others, to accompany me.

On the 13th I acquainted the Governor, and also the Chancellor and the hettman, with my intentions. The Governor gave directions for supplying me with an order that all the tajons, or chiefs of the villages of Kamchatka, should afford me the same assistance as would have been given to himself. Madame Nilow promised me provisions for the journey. The rest of the day was employed in preparing our sledges and refreshing the dogs.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A journey to Lopattka—Return to Bolsha.

ON the 14th, at seven in the morning I departed with four sledges.

On the 20th we directed our course toward the head of a small river which falls into the lake, and is nearly in the midway between Cape Lopattka and the lake itself. Here we had the good fortune to find a very agreeable plain; but as it was still covered with snow, I could not form any judgment respecting the soil. For this reason I contented myself with erecting several pickets, to denote the situation of the future town, and then I drew a plan of the place, with the intention of more effectually securing the good opinion of the Governor and other principal inhabitants. From this place we departed directly for Tontina, where we arrived in the evening.

On the morning of the 21st, after a short repose, I requested the tajon to furnish me with two Baydara, in which, with a gentle breeze at north-west, I sailed round the cape in a very short time. The island Schoumtskoy being in sight, I determined to land on its north-west side, where I passed the night, because there was no wind, and I did not wish to fatigue the rowers.

On the 22nd I sailed to the island Poromusir; and as the wind began to draw round to the eastward, I determined to pass over to the island Ansigonone, commonly called Alaide. We quitted Poromusir at ten in the morning, and arrived at Alaide at three-quarters after three, where we slept upon the snow, having no other bed than our bears' skins.

On the 23rd the beauty of the weather, with the wind in the south-west quarter, tempted me to return to Bolsha by sea;

but as I had left my sledges and equipage with the tajon of Tontina, I resolved to send Mr. Panow thither in one of the boats, that he might return with our equipage to Bolsha. After his departure I set sail at eleven in the morning, and sailed north-east a quarter north, with a strong breeze, under which we made great way. About five in the evening we arrived at the entrance of Lopattka, where we got in with much difficulty, as we had the misfortune to run aground on the bar.

On the 24th, at four in the morning, we departed from Lopattka and sailed along shore until we arrived at the port of Bolsha at three in the afternoon, and came to an anchor at Tchekawka, a bay at the entrance of the port; for the river being frozen, we could not proceed further by water. Hence I sent to the tajon for sledges, and after making some presents to the Kurelles of Tontina, I departed for Bolsherezk, at which place I arrived on the 25th, at three in the morning.

My return surprised Mr. Crustiew, who informed me that the Governor's lady had sent orders to the tajon of Nischilow, to inform her of my arrival, as she had determined to make a party of pleasure to meet me. But the news which gave me the greatest satisfaction was, that everything was quiet, and no one any longer doubted the reality of our project. I then laid down to rest; but as I intended to surprise the Governor by appearing before him and presenting my plan, I gave orders to awake me at six in the morning, when I got up and sketched out my plan, with the situations of our gardens, which, on the whole, made a very pretty appearance. I finished my work at ten o'clock, and immediately waited upon the Governor. The sergeant of the guard knew me at a distance, and carried the news to the Governor and his whole family, whom I found on the drawbridge. I was greatly affected at the manner in which they received me. The Governor took me with him into his closet, and heard the account of my excursion; but upon the sight of my plan it was impossible to conceal his joy. He observed that the enterprise was really one of the most happy thoughts in the world, and said he had not the least doubt but her Imperial Majesty would give marks of her satisfaction on receiving the plan, together with his representation of the collateral circumstances. Full

of this project, he sent for the Chancellor and the hettman, to communicate his ideas to them; while in the meantime he sent me to give an account of my absence to his dear Aphanasia. This beautiful and lovely young lady received me with those transports which the candour and openness of her disposition did not permit her to conceal, and her respectable mother bore a share in her joy.

I was detained to dinner, and, during my stay, had no leisure to reflect on the agitation of my mind. The different questions of the Governor, the Chancellor, and the hettman, which required proper answers, afforded sufficient employment for my whole attention. But as soon as dinner was over I retired, on pretence of taking some repose, but was very far from being capable, for, on my return home, I could no longer support the anxiety which possessed my mind, and forced me to attend to an infinity of reflections that presented themselves. Every day brought the moment of the execution of my enterprise nearer. Gratitude, and the attachment I had formed to the Governor's family, seemed to reproach me; for I clearly saw that my departure would be attended with the ruin of him, and all his family, because the court would attribute to him alone the crime of granting me the means of making my escape. These reflections were still further aggravated by the consideration that our enterprise, though well planned, might fail, and, in that case, no other expedient would remain than to attack and gain possession of the fort by surprise; an expedient which could not be carried into execution without risking the blood of those who had so greatly interested themselves in my welfare. It was evident that the governor, who had given me his confidence, and had honoured me with his friendship, was entitled to my most grateful returns; but, on the other hand, as the chief of a party, I should become perjured, and unworthy to live if I should endanger or abandon the interests of the society.

Such were my reflections, which I communicated to Mr. Crustiew, a man of understanding and a sincere friend. After he had heard me, he embraced me, and assured me that, from the knowledge of my character, he had always been apprehensive of this crisis; that he was infinitely obliged to me for the

confidence I had placed in him, and would speak his sentiments with freedom. He admitted that the court would impute my escape to the Governor, if information should be given respecting the advantages he had afforded me; but that the Chancellor and the hettman, being likewise concerned, there could be no doubt but they would draw up their report in such a manner that the court should know nothing of what the Governor had done in my favour. For this reason, he observed, that I might dismiss my apprehensions; more especially as my obligations to the Governor could not be put in competition with my duty to the society. Such, he said, was his opinion with respect to our future escape; but in case we should be obliged to act by open force, one or the other event must happen, either that we should all be put to the sword, or should become masters of the country. In which last case it would be in my power to carry the Governor with me by force, who, no doubt, would embrace this determination with pleasure, with a view of escaping from punishment; and that, on our arrival in Europe, I should find means to show my gratitude to him and his whole family.

These reasons, weak as they were, served to quiet my mind, and I perceived that when the mind easily gives way to despair, it is as easily comforted. They who may read the present passage ought to beware of deciding either on my weakness or my fortitude. When Mr. Crustiew observed that my anxiety was removed, he proposed to assemble a committee, which I appointed to be held at eleven that evening.

CHAPTER XIX.

A dangerous disturbance among the exiles—Its consequence.

THE principal associates met, and Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that he had succeeded in placing ten hunters and two natives of Kamchatka, on whom he could rely, among the crew of the packet of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, and that he had likewise agreed with the captain for his passage to Ochoczk, as well as respecting the embarking and private conveyance of his merchandises. This account of the advanced state of our affairs gave me the greatest satisfaction.

On the 26th, in the morning, I received an invitation for myself and friends from Madame Nilow, to attend her on an excursion in our sledges. We therefore waited on the Governor, and set out with him and his family, accompanied by the Chancellor and the hettman. At a distance of two leagues from the banks of the Bolsha, near its entrance, we stopped and examined some houses, newly and very neatly built in wood. After this inspection, the Governess informed me that they were designed for me and her daughter, observing at the same time that she thought it became her, as a mother, to give us houses and furniture, as her husband had given us land. The Governor, who was until this instant unacquainted with his lady's undertaking, highly approved it, and ordered the Chancellor to direct workmen to finish the building. Mr. Stephanow, who was present, and heard all that passed, could not avoid observing to Mr. Crustiew that he saw very clearly that I deceived him, and should deceive the whole society, after which words he went off with his sledge. Mr. Crustiew concealed his discourse from me, and only said that he was obliged to o; immediately after which he left us: so that I remained

alone with Mr. Baturin, with whom I waited upon the Governor home, and dined with his family.

After dinner Mr. Sibeaw requested to speak with me, and informed me that it was absolutely necessary that I should go home, as Mr. Stephanow had produced a dangerous riot. I sent him back with the assurance that I would come without delay; but as it was necessary that I should give some reason to the Governor for my hasty departure, I told him in public that I was informed Mr. Stephanow had again fallen into a state of frenzy, which required my assistance. Miss Aphanasia said openly that she knew his disorder, and was convinced that it was not at all dangerous. It was to no purpose that I made signs to her to desist, as she took no notice, but directing herself to me. You are going, said she, to interest yourself in favour of an unhappy wretch, who wishes to deprive you of life; upon which she burst into tears. These words excited the Governor's curiosity, who demanded an explanation; whereupon I gave him an undisguised account of my adventure and combat with Stephanow, not omitting to observe that his enmity arose from his passion for Miss Aphanasia. Upon this information, the governor desired me to let him send him to prison, where he would contrive to render him a little wiser. I insisted, however, upon its being left in my power to imprison him at home, and, at the same time, represented the necessity of this act of authority for maintaining subordination among those who were destined to form the new colony. He therefore determined to grant me this right, and the Chancellor added, that it was very proper that I should be permitted to exert my authority. Seeing the Governor in this disposition, I requested the concession of this power in writing, and accordingly the Chancellor drew up an instrument, which the Governor immediately signed.

These transactions prevented me from returning home as soon as I should otherwise have done. Upon my arrival I found more than fifty soldiers or Cossacks round our habitations, disputing with my companions. I was immediately informed that Mr. Stephanow, after a dispute with Mr. Crustiew, had called a soldier, who was in sight, and told him to run for assistance, for that otherwise I should put him to death, and

that he had secrets to reveal to the Chancery. The soldier had collected others, and several Cossacks had come to the assistance of Stephanow, who was already shut up by our companions. The soldiers insisted that he should be set at liberty, and at last attempted to force their way into our habitations, so that our companions were obliged to take arms to check their impetuosity. Upon this I inquired if any of the soldiers could read writing, and a corporal answered in the affirmative. I made this man read the concession of right, signed by the Governor and the Chancellor; after which he begged my pardon, and entreated that I would not inform the governor of what had passed. I promised him I would not, and thus the disturbance ended.

As soon as I came within doors, Mr. Crustiew informed me that he had luckily followed Mr. Stephanow, from a conviction that he was going to create some disturbance; but that as he did not overtake him till his arrival at his house, he took Messrs. Kuzneczow and Gourcsinin to accompany him. They all three entered Mr. Stephanow's house, whom they found busy writing. At sight of them he flew out into exclamations and threatenings too dangerous to be heard by strangers, and ended by declaring to them that he would immediately go and discover the whole plot.

These circumstances evidently showed how much this madman was to be feared. They attempted to seize him, but he proved strong enough to overthrow Mr. Crustiew and Mr. Gourcsinin, and, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Baturin, who held him fast, he had got out of the door, and excited the soldiers to assemble, in order to deliver him; for he told them that the other exiles intended to poison him, and that he had secrets of treason to declare at the Chancery. Mr. Crustiew proceeded to observe that while the soldier ran to the town, they bound and gagged Stephanow, whom they shut up under guard; but a multitude being afterwards gathered together, and demanding the liberty of Stephanow, they saw themselves necessitated to take arms, while Sibeaw stood over the prisoner, with orders to put him to death at the first report of any fire-arms.

This relation put me in fear for the life of the unhappy

wretch, for which reason I made haste to change the orders of Sibeaw; after which, fearing that the reports might reach the Governor, I sent Mr. Crustiew with instructions to inform him of what had passed, and then I gave orders to assemble the whole society.

We only waited the return of Mr. Crustiew to begin our proceedings, who at last arrived, and brought the good news that the Governor left me entirely master of the prisoner and his punishment; but that with regard to the assembling of the soldiers and Cossacks, he would give orders that no person in future should dare to approach our quarters with the intention of committing violence, under pain of fifty strokes of the knout, and condemnation to the public works for three months.

This agreeable message was delivered to me by Mr. Crustiew in the full meeting, and as soon as he had taken his seat, I demanded their advice how to act with regard to Stephanow. The greater part were for putting him to death, as a man capable of excesses which, sooner or later, would endanger the society; and insisted that it was better to save the lives of fifty-seven persons by sacrificing one single person, especially one who was a criminal. I could not, however, consent to this resolution, on account of my attachment for Mr. Panow, who was related to the prisoner, and was not then present. I therefore used every persuasion to induce them to defer the execution till his return; but the company appeared very unquiet, and pressed me to pass judgment upon him. I succeeded at last in calming their apprehensions by a stratagem. I proposed that Stephanow should be brought before us, be reproached by the whole company, and that sentence of death should afterwards be passed on him; but instead of arsenic and corrosive sublimate, I would only give him an emetic, the effects of which would lead him to believe his death near at hand. I assured the meeting that I was convinced that this crisis would produce his reformation, and that the instant would decide his fate, and convince him that life or death would depend on his repentance or perseverance in his criminal designs.

My proposal had its effect on the company. I therefore sent four armed associates for the prisoner, and in the meanwhile

the dose of emetic was made up, consisting of three grains. On his arrival he appeared before us with some firmness, but at the sight of the goblet on the table, he turned pale. Before any question was proposed to him the order of the Governor was read, and as he knew his handwriting it was shown to him, that he might believe the evidence. After this preliminary, I represented to him that his first misconduct indicated nothing more than malevolence against my person, and that therefore he had been pardoned; but the present case being of such a nature as to endanger the whole society, it was not in my power to change the laws of the constitution, and consequently that I must deliver him to their judgment. Mr. Crustiew then displayed all his rhetoric to represent to this unhappy wretch his crimes, and his blindness to his own individual interest. His discourse threw the miserable Stephanow into tears, who confessed himself to be worthy of the greatest punishment. After this, each of the company bestowed some words of detestation on him, and as this ceremony lasted some time, poor Stephanow fainted, and fell on the ground. By the application of spirit of sal ammoniac and vinegar, he was brought to himself. During the time of his insensibility, Mr. Crustiew drew out the sentence, to which he listened with the greatest anguish, but at the last words, which were, "for these causes the said Stephanow is condemned to drink the liquor contained in the bowl, in order that death may ensue," he fainted away a second time. Upon his recovery he asked to speak with me, which being granted, he entreated me to pardon his faults, and to deliver him, if possible, from this fatal judgment, promising that his life and blood should be employed in my service. He then openly declared that this misfortune was, no doubt, a punishment from the hand of God, whom he had offended by attempting to contract a marriage, though he was already married to a wife then living in Russia. He proceeded to declare, that from that moment he abjured the madness of love, which had led him to the loss of his life in so disgraceful a manner. At length this unhappy man, being urged to drink the liquor, implored the grace and compassion of the company, but in vain, for they persisted in the execution of his judgment. Being thus convinced of the firmness of

their resolution, he at last took the cup in his hand, but upon bringing it to his mouth, his courage again failed him, and he fell back into the arms of Sibeaw and Baturin, who held the cup. On his recovery he wept bitterly, and again entreated the company to pardon him. The peculiar state in which I beheld him, moved me to compassion; and as there was reason to fear that the drink, though simply an emetic, might deprive him of life through apprehension, I interposed to obtain his pardon, which was granted, on condition that he should be kept a prisoner until our departure. He consented to this; but, as he was too much exhausted, the company did not press him to sign his submission. He had scarcely strength enough to thank me in a few words for my protection before he fainted again. I caused him to be taken to Mr. Crustiew, where he was bled by Mr. Meder; but this precaution did not preserve him from a violent illness, which seized him and kept him in his bed till the time of our departure. This incident having employed us almost the whole night, the meeting broke up a little before day.

On the 27th I awoke very late, and was by that means prevented from waiting upon the Governor in the morning, as I had promised. Miss Aphanasia came to see me, and reproached me for my neglect. She breakfasted with me and Mr. Crustiew; after which she returned, happy in the information that I had nothing more to fear from Mr. Stephanow.

About noon Mr. Panow came to me. This worthy associate, having been informed of the interest I had taken in the safety of his relation, fell on my neck, and thanked me for my indulgence. He afterwards told me that he knew that Stephanow had meditated the carrying off the Governor's daughter, and had for that purpose connected himself with Ismailow and Boscarew, with six others, who were determined to quit Kamchatka, but that he had deferred advising me of the plot because Ismailow and Boscarew had assured him that they would not take any step without informing him of it. Mr. Panow recommended these two men to me, as likely to be serviceable on board, on account of their knowledge in sea affairs.

After dinner I went to Stephanow with Mr. Panow. This

unhappy man related to him his last adventure, in which he did not spare every expression suitable to the enormity of his crime. It was with some satisfaction that I was convinced of the sincerity of his repentance. Mr. Panow did not fail to express a due sense of his conduct, and advised him to show his gratitude to me in future. We soon retired, as we were not desirous of increasing his confusion; after which we returned to my house, where we spent the evening very agreeably.

CHAPTER XX.

The Count negotiates with the captain of a vessel—Preparations for the approaching crisis.

ON the morning of the 28th Mr. Kuzneczow requested to speak with me in secret, for which purpose I begged Messrs. Crustiew, Panow, and others, who were present, to retire. He then informed me that Mr. Csurin, commander of the corvette *St. Peter and St. Paul*, had acquainted him that he was unwilling to return to Ochoczk, because of his debts, and for fear of the consequences of a process then against him in the Admiralty Court, the issue of which, if it should turn against him, might condemn him to the mines. He would not, therefore, consent to make the voyage but on condition that Mr. Kuzneczow would find security to the amount of three thousand roubles, and would promise to obtain leave of the Admiralty that he might take the command of a merchant vessel. Mr. Kuzneczow observed that this overture had entirely disconcerted his project, as he could not depend on the compliance of another captain, in case Mr. Csurin should give up the command. This account at first alarmed me, but, upon serious reflection on the situation of Mr. Csurin, I perceived some reason to hope that it would forward the project of gaining him over to my interests. I immediately communicated my ideas to Mr. Kuzneczow, who thought them very well founded, but he objected that Csurin was so strongly attached to a girl at Kamchatka that he never would consent to go without her: I removed this last difficulty by observing that he might carry the girl with him, to which Mr. Kuzneczow could make no objection.

As it was my wish to become acquainted with the sentiments of Mr. Csurin by personal conversation, I directed Mr. Kuz-

neczow to bring him to me, and to promise, in general terms, that he would do everything that might be necessary to render him the services he required. When Mr. Kuzneczow was gone, I rejoined Mr. Crustiew, who was in company with several of our associates. I freely told them what I had heard, and the resolution I had adopted; but I found them strongly persuaded that I should not succeed in the attempt.

After dinner Mr. Kuzneczow arrived, and informed me of the approaching visit of Mr. Csurin; I therefore went home, and had just time to order tea before he came. He made a thousand excuses on his arrival for the liberty he had taken of waiting on me, and requested to know if I had any commissions for Ochoczk, as he, being the commander of the *St. Peter and St. Paul*, would gladly take charge of them, and I might depend on his diligence.

On this offer I replied, that as it was my intention to import some provisions and other articles for the use of my colony, I would avail myself of his kind offer to put a couple of thousand piastres into his hands, that he might convert them into such articles of merchandise as I should direct. To this I added that if it was in my power to render him any services he need only speak, as I knew the gentlemen of the sea were obliged to engage in certain indirect business to enable them to support the charges which were necessary to maintain their situation with credit. I hoped, therefore, that he would not be offended at the offer of a sum for that purpose.

The open and undesigning manner in which I made this offer appeared to affect him, and his manner convinced me that I should have no difficulty in settling my business with him. Our discourse was interrupted by the appearance of tea, but we resumed it as soon as the table was cleared. He began by informing me of the subject of the process he had at the Admiralty, the cause of which was as follows:

Captain Lewascheff had commenced a process against Mr. Csurin for exciting a mutiny among the crew of the ship *St. Ecatherina*, in the expedition of the year 1769. Several sailors deposed that Mr. Csurin was the cause of the oversetting of the boat in the middle of the river Bolsha, in which Captain Kreniczinthen was; and, as the Captain was drowned by this accident,

the process had been instituted criminally against Csurin. His explanation of the affair afforded ample matter to enable me to convince him that he would certainly be condemned. My reasons appeared to be so well founded, that he declared he would pretend illness, in order to avoid commanding the vessel. This decision reduced me to the necessity of forcing his second retrenchment, which I did by representing that his delaying his departure would not save him; because, doubtless, when the council saw that he was determined not to return, they would require the Governor of Kamchatka to send him under guard, so that by this manœuvre he would gain only a few month's delay; after which the confusion of his affairs would be still greater than before. He admitted the truth of this remark, and entreated me to send him to my new colony, or, at least, to favour his procuring a passage to the Aleuthes Islands, where he would finish the rest of his unfortunate life. As he said these last words he burst into tears, and said that he could give up his life and fortune without regret, but that his affection for a young person with whom he lived was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of leaving her.

After this confession he begged me to have pity on his situation, and grant him my protection and advice. I promised to reflect seriously on his affairs, but observed that it would require some time to consider maturely what was best to be done. I gave him my word, however, that I would clear him of his embarrassment; but at the same time, as a previous condition, I insisted that he should not mention his situation to any one, nor think of quitting the command of the vessel. He swore that he would comply with my directions, and thus we parted. But as I thought it necessary to interest his mind by some immediate advantages, I called him back, to put a bag of five hundred roubles into his hands, with the compliment that I begged him to accept of this advance to purchase a present for his lady. He refused at first, but I forced him to accept the present by declaring that, if he persisted in his refusal, I should not believe he was really attached to my interests. He therefore accepted my present and I was delighted at having made so good a bargain.

On my return to Mr. Crustiew, I informed the society of

the good disposition of my client, and they were not a little astonished at the rapidity of my proceedings. In consequence of which they determined no more to oppose my decisions in future, but wait, with patience and calmness, for the result. I assured them of my readiness to perform my part, and promised to neglect nothing to secure the success of my plan with the most scrupulous attention. I observed, that by this management, steadily adhered to, the moment of execution would be naturally easy, provided we were not forced to precipitate our measures, in consequence of treachery from our own associates, or a discovery on the part of Government.

This last reflection induced Mr. Panow to request that I would at least communicate to the society the plan I should adopt, in case we should be discovered or attacked when we least expected it. To this positive question I thought proper to answer that my resolution would depend on circumstances, and the measures taken by Government; so that it was impossible at this moment to fix my determination. But in the meantime I exhorted the society not to be alarmed at the crisis which might surprise us, but to confirm themselves in the resolution of dying with courage. I likewise added, that to prevent any surprise, I had secured means of receiving positive advice respecting every step which Government might take against me; and that, provided we could have one night beforehand, I would answer for the possession of the fort and garrison; after which I was convinced the town could not hold out, because it stood exposed in every part to the cannon of the fortress.

This answer satisfied Mr. Panow, but it gave rise to a longer conference, wherein every one spoke his thoughts, and the whole society unanimously repeated their professions of strict obedience at the critical moment.

I left the company and proceeded to pass the evening at the Governor's house, where I was received like one of the family; and, after passing the evening very agreeably, I returned home about midnight.

On the 29th I was busied with Mr. Meder in making three petards, to be used in case circumstances should require the gates of the fortress or the Chancery to be forced open. During this work I reflected on the business of Mr. Csurin, and digested

my plan; for which reason I sent to desire to see him in the evening. Before dinner I visited Mr. Stephanow, whose fever had increased the preceding day. I found him tolerably easy. He made many apologies for his attempts against my person, and appeared to repent sincerely of what he had done. I therefore endeavoured to raise his spirits by assuring him that it would always be in his power to preserve my esteem and friendship, as long as he avoided a repetition of his offences. His reply consisted of reiterated professions of amendment in his future conduct, which confirmed the good opinion I had formed of him.

After dinner I returned home, where I waited the arrival of Mr. Csurin, who came at five o'clock. He began the conversation with promises and assurances of his devotion to my service, and concluded by requesting to know what I had settled respecting him, to which I answered:

1. That I required him to retain the command of the packet, and to conform exactly to the arrangement he had made with Mr. Kuzneczow.

2. That at his departure I would let him know what he had to do, but that at present I should only inform him that Mr. Kuzneczow would manage matters so that the second day after his departure the ship should spring a leak, which would afford a sufficient reason for coming to an anchor, which he might do at Lopattka. In the meantime I promised to obtain the Governor's permission that he might be permitted to establish himself among us. I observed that this appeared to me to be the only honourable method of avoiding the voyage to Ochoczk; and further, with regard to his establishment and future marriage with the young lady in question, I promised him two thousand roubles, and the place of captain of the military.

My proposal pleased him, and he bound himself by oath to conform strictly to every particular. He even offered to sign an engagement to that effect, which he confirmed by oath. This affair being finished I dismissed him, and hastened to call a committee, to communicate the news of my success; and as I thought it very necessary not to lose sight of Mr. Csurin, I charged Mr. Kuzneczow to connect himself with him, and not to leave his company.

CHAPTER XXI.

Preparations for departure—Miss Aphanasia discovers the intention of the exiles.

ON the 30th Mr. Crustiew and Mr. Panow, at the head of twenty-five of our associates, were deputed to wait on the Governor, with a request that he would please to receive the title of Protector of the new colony. They were likewise charged to wait on the Chancellor and the hettman with a similar request, that they would accept other titles relative to the colony; and, in the last place, they were to present a memorial to the magistrates of the town, to request their assistance and support in favour of the new colony, which was to bear the name of Nilovaga, in honour of the Governor. They performed their commission, and returned with the news that they had met with an agreeable reception from all the gentlemen on whom they had been directed to wait.

On the 31st I received a message from the magistrates of the town, informing me that they had favourably received my memorial, and that in consequence of the utility and services which the capital expected from our industry and attachment, they had sent us an aggregation to the rights of citizens of Bolsharezk for all the children which should be born in the new colony. After I had made the messenger a present, I communicated our good fortune to the company, which was greatly amused at this comedy of my composing.

April the 1st. As I knew that the vessels employed between Ochoczk and Kamchatka usually took no larger stock of water than ten or twelve butts, I ordered Mr. Solmanow to purchase twenty or twenty-five butts, and carry them to Csekawka, after getting them put in order, under pretence of applying them to the manufacture of salt from sea water. About ten o'clock

this day I received a message from Miss Nilow that she would call on me in the afternoon, requesting at the same time that I would be alone, because she had affairs of importance to communicate. As I supposed the latter part of this message to be mere pleasantry, I was far from expecting any extraordinary information; and my surprise at the event was much greater, as I had not the least reason to suppose she had made any discovery of my intentions. Miss Nilow arrived at three in the afternoon; her agitation on her first appearance convinced me that she was exceedingly afflicted. At sight of me she paused a moment, and soon after burst into tears and threw herself into my arms, crying out that she was unfortunate and forsaken. Her sighs and tears were so extreme that it was more than a quarter of an hour before I could obtain a connected sentence. I was extremely affected at her situation, and used every expedient to calm her mind, but this was extremely difficult, because I was entirely ignorant of the reason of her affliction.

As soon as she became a little composed, she begged me to shut the door, that no one might interupt us. I came back, and on my knees entreated her to explain the cause of her present situation, which she did to the following effect.

She informed me that her maid had discovered to her, that a certain person, named Ivan Kudrin, one of my associates, had proposed to her to share his fortune, and that this indiscreet person had assured the girl that he was about to quit Kamchatka with me to make a voyage to Europe, where he hoped to place her in an agreeable situation. The maid had first related the circumstance to her mistress, but as she could never believe me capable of such base and treacherous behaviour to her, she was desirous of hearing the account herself, and had for that purpose persuaded the servant to appoint a meeting with Kudrin, in order to question him more amply, while she herself might hear the whole by being concealed behind a curtain. In this manner, she said, she become convinced of her unhappiness and my treachery, and that she would have spared me the confusion of hearing this if, from a conviction that she could not live after such an affront, she had not been desirous of bidding me a last farewell.

On finishing these words she fainted, and though I was exceedingly alarmed and distressed on the occasion, yet I did not fail to arrange a plan in my mind, during the interval of her insensibility. When this amiable young lady recovered she asked if she might give credit to what she had heard. I then threw myself at her feet, and entreated her to hear me calmly, and judge whether I was to blame or not. She promised she would, and I addressed her in the following terms:

"You may recollect, my dear friend, the account I gave you of my birth, and the rank I held in Europe. I remember the tears you shed on that occasion. The misfortune of being exiled to Kamchatka would long since have compelled me to deliver myself from tyranny by death, if your acquaintance and attachment had not preserved me. I have lived for you, and if you could read my heart I am sure I should have your pity, for the possession of your person is become as necessary to my existence as liberty itself. The liberty I speak of is not that which your worthy father has given me, but implies the possession of my estate and rank. I have hoped for the possession of your person with a view of rendering you happy in the participation of my fortune and dignity. These views cannot be accomplished at Kamchatka. What rank can I bestow on my love but that of an exile? The favours of your worthy father may be of the shortest duration. His successor may soon recall his ordinances, and plunge me again into that state of suffering and contempt from which I was delivered for a short moment. Represent to yourself, my dearest friend, the affliction and despair that would overwhelm my soul when I beheld you a sharer in my pain and disgrace; for you well know that all the Russians esteem the exiles as dishonoured persons. You have forced me to this declaration of my intentions, in which I have been guided by the attachment and sincerity of my heart. I deferred the communication to you, but I swear that such was my resolution."

"Why then," interrupted she, "did you conceal your intention from me, who am ready to follow you to the farthest limits of the universe?"

This assurance encouraged me to proceed, and engage this

charming young lady in my interests. I told her, therefore that I was prevented only by the fear lest she should refuse my proposals, on account of her attachment to her parents; but that, as I now had nothing to fear in that respect, I could inform her that my intention being to leave Kamchatka, I had determined to carry her off; and in order to convince her, I was ready to call Mr. Crustiew, who would confirm the truth. On this assurance she embraced me, and entreated me to forgive her want of confidence, at the same time that she declared her readiness to accompany me.

This degree of confidential intercourse being established, I persuaded her to dismiss every fear from her mind. Many were the trials I made of her resolution, and the event convinced me that she was perfectly determined to follow my fortunes. The secret being thus secure by her promise to keep it inviolably, I had no other uneasiness remaining but what arose from the communication having been made to her servant. I mentioned my fears to Miss Nilow, who removed them, by assuring me that her servant was too much attached to her to betray her secret, and had, besides, an affection for Kudrin, so that she could answer for her discretion. Thus agreeably ended our conversation, though the commencement was rather tragical, and I received the vows of attachment and fidelity from an artless and innocent mind.

Miss Nilow did not depart till about six o'clock. I immediately sent for Kudrin, whom I reproached for his misconduct and indiscretion, by explaining the great danger to which he had exposed the whole society. I promised at the same time not to divulge his fault to the society; but insisted that he should in future avoid all farther explanation of the state of our affairs to the young woman. I likewise promised, in order to calm his uneasiness, that I would contrive matters so that he should take her with him. This poor wretch, on my first accusation, was seized with the most terrifying apprehensions, and fell to the ground at my feet, crying out for mercy, as he supposed I should deliver him up to the judgment of the society, from whom he had nothing to expect but death. But on my conclusion he arose, kissed my hand, and swore eternal fidelity. For my part I was very well satisfied to have extricated myself

out of such a disagreeable embarrassment, by settling affairs on so good a footing.

After the departure of Kudrin I went to Mr. Crustiew, who, being apprised in the morning of Miss Nilow's intended visit, and seeing me come out so late, thought proper to rally me upon the occasion. But his hilarity soon gave place to astonishment when he heard what had passed. He was persuaded, he said, that I must have been born under a happy influence, and that nothing could fail us under such auspices. I laughed at his enthusiasm, though I was truly sensible of that good fortune which had removed so many unpleasant incidents.

On the 2nd Madame Nilow invited me to breakfast, and took me apart to inquire what I had done to her daughter, who used to be exceedingly in spirits at her return home, but had since yesterday evening been continually in tears. It was difficult to answer this home question, to which I could at first make no better reply than by saying that Miss Nilow had imparted a secret to me that related to herself alone, and was communicated under the seal of confidence, which I could not infringe. Madame Nilow laughed at this excuse, and afterwards ordered her daughter to be called, whom she required to release me from the injunction of secrecy, that I might be at liberty to relate what had passed between us yesterday, to which she answered that she would entirely rely on my prudence, and that if I thought it necessary I was at liberty to speak, though she would be present to know whether I spoke the truth. I then related that some person, with a view to injure me in Miss Aphanasia's opinion, had informed her that I was not of the Greek religion, and had persuaded her to ask me to become of that faith; that she had accordingly made the proposal to me two days ago, to which I answered that though, in my opinion, all religions were alike, I could not consent to make any change in mine; and upon her observing that my determination might prevent our marriage, I replied that then we should die without reproach; she was vexed, and our friendly intercourses had suffered a slight interruption till a second opportunity for explanation offered itself. I added that in our last conversation I had expressed my hope that

Miss Aphanasia would in future put less confidence in advisers. Madame Nilow, after having patiently heard my account, blamed her daughter for presuming to meddle in affairs of religion, and said she hoped her prudence in future would prevent her going into any such extravagancies. She then retired and left us at liberty. I embraced the opportunity to confirm the young lady in her resolution; and she assured me that I might remain perfectly easy with regard to her maid, who was as desirous as herself to see us safe in Europe. We finished our conversation on the happiness we should enjoy when at perfect liberty, after which I retired, and ordered a general meeting to be held on the 5th. I then visited Mr. Stephanow, whom I found under the application of blisters, having been in a continual delirium for three days and nights.

CHAPTER XXII.

Various proceedings—The Chancellor receives information of the attempts of the exiles—The Count's exertions to prevent the consequences of this discovery.

ON the 3rd of April Mr. Solmanow purchased twenty-two butts and forwarded them to Tsekawka. Mr. Kuzneczow likewise advised me that he had purchased a cask of brandy for seven hundred and eighty roubles, which I immediately paid. Messrs. Baturin and Wynbladth, who were commissioned to salt fish, also informed me that they had prepared two casks of fish and one cask of whale oil, but they could procure no more than four hundred and fifty pounds of flour.

On the 4th Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that Mr. Csurin was going on board to set the ship to rights, and consequently those of our associates who were engaged in the vessel must be ready to depart on the 7th; and that in order to overlook the transactions of Mr. Csurin, he had determined likewise to go on board himself. I agreed to his proposal, earnestly advising him to exert every attention to promote the business entrusted to him, but at the same time to hold himself in readiness to return at the first call. And in order that our correspondence might be rendered more certain, I commissioned him to station a trusty native of Kamchatka at Mikutka to carry my advices and orders to him. I was informed in the evening that the Governor was indisposed.

On the 5th I put off the meeting till the evening on account of the necessity of visiting the Governor. On my arrival at the fort I found the whole family greatly afflicted, and the Governor very ill with a violent colic. I gave him a little extract of aloes with brandy, and had the pleasure to see him able to walk about by noon. He thanked me for my assistance, and begged I would give him a provision of the medicine which

had done him so much service. I refused staying to dinner, and returned home, after which the general meeting was held, where I gave the society an account of the measures I had taken to secure the vessel *St. Peter and St. Paul;* but I thought it likewise necessary to express to the meeting my fears of some unfortunate accident. For this reason I required that no one in future would go into the town without a companion, and that they would not haunt public-houses, where several disputes had arisen between the soldiers of the garrison or Cossacks and my people. I observed that the moment of the execution of our project was nearly approaching, for which reason it was of the utmost consequence to avoid every misunderstanding and to be upon our guard. I therefore exhorted them to remain peaceably in their houses, and always near the chiefs which I had nominated, in order that they might come together in case of any unforeseen accident, and be in readiness to obey my orders. The whole company unanimously replied that they would strictly obey my orders, and that I might depend on their fidelity. Their readiness gave me much satisfaction. I thanked them for their confidence in me, and regaled them with a large quantity of punch, the disposal of which employed the company till four in the morning.

On the 6th I remained at home the whole day at rest, except in the evening, when I made a visit to the Governor. On the 7th Mr. Kuzneczow took his leave with ten of our companions. This day Mr. Baturin informed me that Ismailow, Boscarew, and Zablikow had proposed a number of questions to him concerning the new colony, and that he overheard Ismailow whisper Boscarew, "We shall get nothing out of him, for he is Samuelovicz's friend; let us go to the others," from which he suspected that these three men had received some information of our project. From this account I recollected that Mr. Stephanow had been connected with these persons, and might have informed them of some of the particulars. I therefore went immediately to him, but he was not in a situation to answer any questions. Nothing therefore remained to be done but to apply to Mr. Panow, whom I ordered to inquire for one of the three and sound his intentions, that I might take my measures in time.

Mr. Crustiew, when informed of this business, appeared very uneasy, which was a circumstance unusual in him, as he was a man of courage, and possessed great firmness of mind. After reflecting a short time, he told me that he thought he should be able to sift the business to the bottom; but that there was reason to fear a discovery on the part of the Government which we could not avoid, supposing his ideas to be true; for he told me that Ismailow was related to the Chancellor, and possessed his confidence. The strong marks of apprehension which I saw in Mr. Crustiew obliged me to request his thoughts concerning the information of Baturin. He replied that he was fearful of an intrigue among women; and said he was assured that it was Mr. Kuzneczow's intention to carry with him the sister of Sergeant Kuzmin, and that probably he had divulged the secret to that woman. On the other hand, he was convinced that Mr. Ismailow likewise kept company with the same person, whence he inferred that Ismailow had got some hints of our project, which led him to endeavour at a more perfect discovery.

Mr. Crustiew promised that he would use every exertion in his power to come at the truth by means of the woman, and advised me in the meantime to wait on the Chancellor and observe his behaviour, from which I might easily know whether his nephew had already spoken to him concerning his discovery.

These steps appearing reasonable, I determined immediately to wait on the Chancellor, while Mr. Crustiew was employed in making his inquiries. On my arrival the Chancellor received me with more politeness, but less cordiality, than usual. He ordered tea, and during the time it was preparing our discourse turned first on the Government, in which the Chancellor repeated all the advantages I had received from the chiefs in forwarding my projects, and twice said that he hoped my zeal and conduct would justify their opinions and proceedings. In answer to his discourse, I replied that I was greatly affected with the marks of goodness I had received, and should neglect no favourable occasion of showing my gratitude. After a short pause, the Chancellor asked me how far I was connected with Kuzneczow. I answered that Mr. Kuzneczow having rendered

me essential services at my first arrival at Kamchatka, when I was in the lowest state of indigence, I thought it proper to acknowledge his good offices at a time when I was at my ease. He replied that he hoped my motives were such as I expressed, but that he could not help taking notice that various reflections were made in the town concerning our intimacy, more particularly since Mr. Kuzneczow had been seen openly assisting the exiles, with a musket in his hand, at the time of their dispute with the soldiers and Cossacks respecting Mr. Stephanow.

This overture sufficiently showed that Mr. Ismailow had related his suspicions or perhaps discoveries to his uncle, for which reason I determined to clear the way by one effectual stroke. I therefore replied that I saw clearly from whence this prejudice against Mr. Kuzneczow arose. I informed the Chancellor that Kuzneczow and his nephew kept company with the same woman, whom I named, being the sister of Sergeant Kuzmin; and observed that jealousy had dictated this expedient to his nephew with a view to prejudice his rival. I assured him that with regard to myself I was happy in the present opportunity of speaking my sentiments to him, as my benefactor. I admitted that it might be very convenient, and not unbecoming Mr. Kuzneczow, to frequent the company of a common woman, though such a proceeding would very ill become his nephew, who enjoyed a distinguished rank. But what more particularly mortified my feelings in this business was that I understood it to be the intention of his nephew to marry the girl, for which reason I had disposed Mr. Kuznec-zow to persuade her to make a voyage with him to Ochoczk, where they were to be married. I ended my speech by observing that I should have concealed this proof of my personal attachment to him if there had not been reason to fear that silence at this moment might impair his friendship for me.

The Chancellor listened very attentively, paused a moment, and then embraced me, saying that if I had not come he might have taken a very dangerous step. He then informed me that his nephew had constantly repeated to him for some days past that he was certain Kuzneczow and myself intended to leave Kamchatka, and take some women with us, adding that he was sure of our plot, but would come at the bottom of it by

new inquiries. The Chancellor proceeded to say that, from the reiterated observances of his nephew, he had determined to send for Mr. Stephanow and examine him, but that he now considered my arrival as a happy circumstance, since it had spared him the confusion of intimating his suspicions of me. My account, he said, had opened his eyes, and shown him the necessity of regulating the conduct of his nephew.

Affairs being in this favourable train, I begged him to inquire of Captain Csurin whether it were not true that Kuzneczow intended to sail with him to Ochoczk, and whether he had not contracted for the passage of a lady.

The Chancellor immediately sent for Csurin, and after receiving the confirmation of what I had said from him, he promised me a complete satisfaction on the part of his nephew.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The subject of the preceding chapter continued.

I WAS exceedingly happy in having remedied an affair of such a desperate nature, and hastened home, where I found Mr. Crustiew in the utmost uneasiness. He could not contain his anger at seeing me laugh, but began by informing me that he was certain that the Chancellor had received information concerning us, and was now busied in disclosing our projects to the Government, for the sister of Kuzmin had informed him that Mr. Ismailow had listened to her discourse with Kuzneczow under her window, in which he had promised to marry her if she would consent to go with him to Europe, observing that the voyage would be long, but that he would make her amends by his love and fidelity. Upon which proposal she had demanded how he supposed it would be in his power to sail to Europe, and Kuzneczow replied that there was no reason to be uneasy about the success of any undertaking when directed by such chiefs as myself. She protested that Mr. Kuzneczow had said nothing more; but that after his departure Ismailow entered and insulted her, and directly afterwards went out, threatening to send Kuzneczow to the mines. She likewise told Mr. Crustiew that she had avoided speaking to Mr. Kuzneczow on the business for fear of a quarrel.

Upon this intelligence I desired my friend to go immediately to the girl and direct her to say, if she should be sent for by the Chancellor, that Mr. Kuzneczow had proposed and agreed with her to go to Ochoczk, where they were to be married, and that I had promised her a marriage portion of a thousand roubles, provided she would depart and avoid the visits of Mr. Ismailow. Mr. Crustiew was perfectly astonished at this

message, and asked if I thought him out of his senses. I saw that he did not comprehend my intentions, and therefore gave him an account of my conversation with the Chancellor, upon which he perfectly understood the whole business, and hastened to execute my commission. For my part, as Mr. Kuzneczow was not yet gone, I sent for him and gave him instructions likewise, in case he should be questioned by the Chancellor. These measures being taken, I found my mind more at ease, and went to rest late at night, for I had found it impossible to take any repose during the continuance of my apprehensions.

On the 8th I learned that the Chancellor had examined Kuzneczow and the sister of Kuzmin separately, and at day-break had sent his nephew to Verchney Ostrogg, with orders not to return to Bolsaretz without his consent. In the evening the Chancellor himself came to me, made a thousand excuses for his suspicions, and begged me to accept the portion I had promised the girl, which, however, I refused, at the same time entreating him to excuse my taking it, as a proof of his confidence in my good intentions.

On the 9th Mr. Kuzneczow informed me of his departure, and assured me that I might entirely depend on Mr. Csurin. This news was some consolation to me; for though the Chancellor was apparently reconciled, I could no longer depend on his confidence. I knew that inquisitive disposition would not permit him to banish the adventure of his nephew from his mind; and as the slightest appearances might revive his suspicions, I thought it proper to keep my people constantly assembled. With a view likewise to secure myself against any surprise, I engaged Miss Nilow to pay strict attention to everything that passed at the Governor's house, especially when the Chancellor was present.

The same day I assembled the company, to whom I gave an account of all that had passed between me and the Chancellor, and declared that though all our measures were perfectly well established, I was morally sure they would be ineffectual, because I had every reason to think that we should be discovered before the time of the departure of the vessel. In consequence of this discouraging prospect, I said that I should proceed to propose to the company another regulation. The

meeting unanimously assured me that they would agree to every step which I should think proper to be taken, so that I needed only to give my orders, which would be immediately complied with. On this declaration, which was so full of confidence, I represented to them that it would be impossible for us to resist the force which Government might employ against us, if we remained near the town, and, therefore, that on the first intimation of a discovery, I should propose to the company to retire to the sea-side, where we might defend ourselves in the intrenchment of the lighthouse, which was provided with four large pieces of cannon, which would be sufficient to keep the assailants at a distance; and, in the meantime, as I could depend on Mr. Csurin, I would direct him to bring the vessel out of the Bay, by towing her through the ice, and that I did not despair of carrying this project into execution in the course of eight days.

The company replied that this step was salutary, and necessary to be carried into execution. I therefore drew up instructions for Mr. Kuzneczow, which I forwarded to him by the hands of Sibeaw, at the same time that I directed Mr. Panow to distribute money to several of our associates, to purchase gunpowder in all the shops, and, if possible, at the great magazine. For I had been informed that the cannon of the redoubt of the lighthouse was well provided with bullets and grape shot, though the quantity of powder was insufficient to fire six shot. I passed the rest of the day with Mr. Crustiew, in conference on the means necessary to be adopted in the present exigence of our circumstances.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Various proceedings relative to the projected escape of the exiles, and the discoveries made by Government.

ON the 10th Mr. Baturin informed me that Boscarew and Zablikow had written a letter to Mr. Stephanow, which was to be put into his hands by a Kamchadal woman. I immediately sent notice to Mr. Panow, who undertook to watch his relation, to whom he went without delay, and returned with the letter, which he said had been delivered the instant before by the woman, and that after reading it, Stephanow had said, "I am the unhappy wretch who have produced all the mischief which may follow," and then entreated his relation to carry the letter to me with a request that I would cause these two men to be put to death, in order to preserve our secret; for he confessed he had revealed the greatest part of it to them. The contents of the letter were as follows:

"The treatment you have experienced from the unworthy chief whom you have chosen has excited our compassion. We are informed that your illness is not real, but that you are a prisoner, and we therefore take this opportunity of assuring you that we are ready to deliver you, and that you may depend on our willingness to sacrifice our lives in the attempt. The oath we entered into with you has prevented us from betraying your abominable chief; besides which, we were unwilling to be the authors of the destruction of so many brave men as have entered into the association. If your life be in safety, send us some intimation, and inform us at what hour of the night we can enter your prison without being discovered; but if you think it proper for our interests that we should deliver you from the tyrant, let us know your wish,

and his death is certain. Remember the engagements you have entered into with us, and be assured of our fidelity.

"Signed, BOSCAREW and ZABLIKOW."

I read this letter in the presence of some of the associates, to their no small consternation. Several of them were desirous of going to seek these two bravos, with whom they proposed to quarrel, and then dispatch them. Mr. Panow supported this opinion; but, for my part, I declared that I could not, without regret, consent to be the cause of the death of two such determined young men, especially as I had reason to think we might avail ourselves of their services. For this purpose I proposed that Mr. Panow should persuade his relation to send them an answer, which I would draw up; as I was well assured that we might cause them to join us by this means, provided Mr. Stephanow consented to assist. Mr. Panow answered for him, whereupon I drew up the following minute:

"You will be convinced that my illness is real when you see my handwriting. I have kept my bed from the day I last saw you. I thank you, my friends, for the assistance you offer, though it is unnecessary; for I can assure you that my whole consolation at present consists in the acknowledgment of my improper conduct towards my chief. You hate him because I have described him to you as a man worthy of hatred: but I earnestly intreat you, by the oath we have entered into, not to aggravate my remorse by making any attempt against this worthy and respectable chief. I thought him my enemy, and acted accordingly; I even sought his death. Doubtless you have concluded that he would revenge himself; but, on the contrary, he has declared himself my protector, and has preserved my life at the risk of his own. It is to him I am indebted for my safety, and I entreat you to respect the protector as your friend. I have written this letter to prevent the consequences of your impetuosity; hasten then to me, that I may inform you concerning my situation. You are at perfect liberty to come, and I flatter myself that, on an interview, I shall render you an essential service, by bringing you acquainted with a man to whom you may unite."

This answer being approved of, Mr. Panow carried it to his relation, who copied it, and sent it back by the messenger who had brought him the letter. About eleven in the evening Mr. Panow requested me to come to his friend, who was desirous of introducing Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow to me, with six other associates. When I arrived, Mr. Stephanow begged me to come near his bed, took my hand, and kissed it. He then proceeded to recapitulate all his faults, enumerated the marks of kindness and confidence he had received, and concluded by entreating my forgiveness; after which, without giving me time to reply, he presented Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow to me, with their companions; with the assurance that they desired to join our association, and that he could answer for their fidelity and attachment. On this offer I asked the gentlemen whether they were firmly resolved to enter into our society without being informed of our projects and measures? To which they answered that they had been informed of everything, and were determined to acknowledge me as their chief, from their knowledge of the inducements. After this short explanation I informed them that I would expect them at three o'clock to-morrow, in order to proceed in their reception. But as they requested I would permit them to remain in future with us, I consented that they should stay all night; for they protested that they would not quit our dwelling till they were admitted members of the society.

On the 11th I visited the Governor, who seemed to be meditating on some subject that occupied his attention, and as it was of consequence for me to become acquainted with the reason of his serious deportment, I inquired, and received for answer, that he believed the Chancellor was out of his senses, because he had been talking to him of an enterprise purely chimerical; for, continued he, the fool suspects you of an intention to desert, and has vexed me so much that I have sent him away in an ill-humour: he has even dared to accuse my daughter of being a party in your plot. I answered, laughing, that I was very well acquainted with the weakness of the Chancellor, who, though a worthy character, had suffered himself to be led by his nephew Ismailow, a man jealous of my good fortune, and at enmity with one of my friends,

Kuzneczow. I informed the Governor that Ismailow had composed a fiction, which had turned the Chancellor's head; and then, without hesitation, I related all that had happened. My story put the Governor into a cheerful humour. He sent for the Chancellor, who was surprised to find me seated with the Governor. The latter began the conversation by acquainting him that he had informed me the whole of the Chancellor's suspicions; and that, on the other hand, I had acquainted him with all that had passed between us. The Chancellor seemed to pay very little attention to this, but told me flatly that I was guilty, and that he repented the indulgence he had shown me in regard to time; but as he was so lucky as to find me in a place of surety, he should exhibit his proofs, and had no doubt but they would be sufficient to induce the Governor to send me to prison. He then drew out of his pocket a letter from his nephew, which contained a confirmation of his first accusation, and an appeal to Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow, which when he had read, he demanded of the Governor whether he had reason or no to accuse me. The Governor seemed to hesitate; but I seized the moment to propose that those two witnesses might be sent for, and promised that I would own myself guilty if they could prove the least delinquency against me. In support of my proposition I observed that he well knew Stephanow to be my irreconcileable enemy, and that Boscarew and Zablikow were his intimate friends; who, consequently, were in no danger of giving a flattering deposition in my favour. I requested, moreover, that the Governor would permit me to retire into his cabinet during the examination.

This proposal was agreed to by the Governor, and the Chancellor was in the greatest rage to see himself dared to this point. He therefore required them to be sent for, and as I had told him they were then with Stephanow, the messengers were sent directly thither. In the meantime I took the liberty to rally the Chancellor on his discovery. But the Governor protested that if the alarm he had raised should prove unfounded, he would break off his friendship with him.

At length, however, the two witnesses were announced, and I retired. The Chancellor showed them the letter, and they

replied that they knew the handwriting perfectly, though they were ignorant of the subject on which it was written, and, in a word, they knew nothing of any plot. They observed that it was true that they were intimate with Mr. Stephanow, who had complained to them against me, in consequence of which they had declared themselves my enemies, and had sought occasions of quarrelling with me; but that their opposition was personal, and did not require them to depart from their characters as men of veracity. To this they added, that they recollected perfectly well that Mr. Ismailow had some days before related to them a feigned story, contrived by himself, and had misled them so far as to cause them to seek opportunities of quarrelling, with a view to do me a mischief. But that since they had found that the whole of Mr. Ismailow's narration was false, they had given up their quarrel, and were much mortified to find that they had been so far misled and involved; though they could not avoid expressing their determination that Ismailow should sooner or later give them an account of his conduct.

After this declaration, the Governor politely dismissed Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow, with the request that they would continue to entertain the same sentiments of esteem and friendship for me. He then brought me out of his cabinet to be a witness of the confusion of the Chancellor, who scarcely durst look me in the face. I did not fail, however, to do my utmost to restore his confidence; and, by dint of entreaty, I at last prevailed on him to speak. He apologised for his error by laying the blame on the malice of his nephew, against whom he breathed forth imprecations. He made the best excuses he could to the Governor, who let him understand that he did not approve such liberties. Thus the whole business of conciliation fell upon me, which, however, I performed with success, by the help of a few glasses of brandy.

This affair being accomplished, I went to Madame Nilow and her daughter, who received me with open arms. The account I gave of what had passed astonished and alarmed them for the moment; but the happy termination was very satisfactory to them all, more especially Miss Aphanasia, who was not a little uneasy at the beginning of my narrative. I then

took my leave, and blessed the happy chance that had afforded me the means of receiving into my party two such dangerous evidences, whose intimate acquaintance with all our designs had put us completely in their power.

CHAPTER XXV.

Proceedings of the Government of Kamchatka, in consequence of the discovery of the Count's plan to liberate the exiles.

ON my return home, I dined, and after dinner the ceremony of the reception of Messrs. Boscarew and Zablikow was performed: after which I proceeded to relate to my companions the dangers I had passed, and publicly thanked our new associates for their eminent service.

We passed the evening together, and I did not quit the meeting until I was informed of the arrival of the Chancellor, who came to complete our reconciliation. I remonstrated strongly with him on the absurdity of his conduct, and assured him that though I had done my best to reconcile him with the Governor, he must not attribute this proceeding to my want of a due sense of the injury I sustained, but to a desire of seeing harmony prevail among the chiefs. I observed that he ought to have mistrusted the insinuations of his nephew after the former discovery of his plot, and the falsehood he had been proved to be guilty of. And I concluded by informing him that I was willing to overlook this second affront, but that if he should suffer himself to be misled into such an error a third time, I would not fail to seek my revenge. The Chancellor protested that in future he would act with sincerity towards me, and we parted good friends.

On the 12th I received a letter from Mr. Kuzneczow, wherein he informed me that Mr. Csurin was busy in fitting out his vessel, but that it was impossible to clear the ice during the present month; that he would answer for the taking of the redoubt, the fire of which would protect the ship, while the vessel in return would clear the approaches to the redoubt; that Mr.

Csurin was disposed to share our fortune at all risks, as he had his lady with him; and lastly, he concluded his letter by entreating me to facilitate the means of his female friend joining him. The friendship and attachment of Mr. Kuznec-zow entitled him to every return in my power; for which reason I charged Sibaew, who brought the letter, to send La Kusmika to Csekawka in one of the boats.

After dinner I was seized with a violent colic, succeeded by a fever, which forced me to go to bed. In the night I grew worse, which obliged me to send for Messrs. Crustiew and Panow, to whom I intrusted the care and superintendence of the company.

On the 13th, Mr. Crustiew having acquainted Miss Aphanasia with my illness, she hastened to see me, and, as I was informed after my recovery, never quitted my bedside, nor suffered any other person to attend me. The fever continued, without any regular period, during the 14th, 15th and 16th. On the 17th Mr. Meder bled me, and on the 18th he prescribed an emetic, by which treatment the fever left me on the 19th.

On the 20th I was able to quit my bed, and Miss Aphanasia informed her mother of my recovery, who came, together with her other children, to congratulate me on the occasion. It was at this time I was informed of the services Miss Aphanasia had done; I thanked her with the utmost sincerity, and was convinced that my gratitude affected her exceedingly. After the departure of Madame Nilow, though her daughter stayed with me, Mr. Crustiew gave me an account that all our arrangements were in good order, and that the tranquillity which prevailed everywhere with respect to our interests was such that we had no reason for any apprehensions.

On the 21st I thought it necessary to persuade Miss Aphanasia to return home, for which purpose I represented to her that her presence was necessary to prevent our being surprised, for want of that information respecting what passed at her father's, which no one could better obtain than herself. For these reasons I urged her to return as speedily as possible: she admitted their force, and left me with tears.

After her departure, Mr. Crustiew informed me of his suspicions that the Chancellor, in conjunction with the hettman,

was meditating our destruction: for the hettman, he understood, was gone two days before to Verchney Ostrogg, and he had every reason to believe that the adventure of the death of Levontiew was his motive, because Boscarew and Zablikow had received a letter from Ismailow, who supposed them still his friends, in which he informed them of the discovery of an assassination committed by my order. In confirmation of this opinion Mr. Crustiew showed me the letter, which clearly convinced me that it became us to prepare for an open attack: for though I was well assured that the circumstances which had accompanied the death of Levontiew could not be brought in evidence against me, yet I had just reason to fear that the deposition of the tajon, who had put the letter directed to the Governor into my hands, would produce an effect which, supported by the credit of the Chancellor and the hettman, could not fail to overthrow me. The more I reflected on this business the more critical I found it, and as I was still too weak to sit up for any length of time, I gave Mr. Crustiew a charge to admit the two exiles, companions to Mr. Ivaskin, into our society, as I was sufficiently convinced of their attachment. This was done the same day, and they were so well satisfied with this mark of confidence that they thanked me on their knees for the favour I had bestowed on them, as, they said, of receiving them into my company, and giving them an opportunity either of avenging themselves of the unjust Government which had oppressed them, or of dying in the attempt.

On the 22nd I assembled the whole company, and caused arms and the necessary ammunition to be distributed to each, in order that, in case our dwellings should be invested, they might not be unprovided; and as there was reason to fear an attack in the night, I gave regular orders for a guard and patrol. The arms were distributed in the night for the greater secrecy.

On the 23rd Miss Aphanasia came to see me incognito. She informed me that her mother was in tears, and her father had talked with her in a manner which gave reason to fear that he suspected our plot. She conjured me to be careful, and not to come to the fort if sent for. She expressed her fears that it would not be in her power to come to me again, but

promised she would, in that case, send her servant; and she entreated me, at all events, if I should be compelled to use force against Government, that I would be careful of the life of her father, and not endanger my own. I tenderly embraced this charming young lady, and thanked her for the interest she took in my preservation; and as it appeared important that her absence should not be discovered, I begged her to return, and recommend the issue of our intentions to good fortune. Before her departure I reminded her to look minutely after her father, and to send me a red ribbon in case Government should determine to arrest or attack me, and, in the second place, that at the moment of an alarm she would open the shutter of her window, which looked to the garden, and cause a sledge to be laid over the ditch on that side. She promised to comply with my instructions, and confirmed her promises with vows and tears.

As soon as Miss Aphanasia was gone, I thought it proper to set up a pole, for the convenience of hoisting a light, and, at the same time, I sent instructions to my companions that the light should be the signal for rallying.

On the 24th, being busied in preparing against every surprise, I caused a bridge to be broken down, which had been laid over a ravine that separated us from the town; and, instead of the bridge, I caused a single plank to be laid, over which no more than one person could pass at a time. At three in the afternoon, Mr. Crustiew informed me that the hettman was on his return, and had brought with him the tajon in question, and that Ismailow was likewise with his uncle. This information was sufficient to point out the steps it became us to take; but, in order to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the state of affairs, we sent ten of our associates of the party of Boscarew on discovery. They did not return till very late in the evening, and reported that the hettman had had a long conference with the Chancellor, and that about five in the evening they had waited on the Governor, accompanied by Ismailow and a Kamschadal chief. This report caused us to double our guard and patrol, and the whole society remained under arms.

On the 25th, in the morning, Miss Aphanasia's servant

brought me a red ribbon. She told me verbally, to beware of coming to the fort; that her mistress as well as Madame Nilow, was in tears, as the Governor had treated them with great severity, and had even struck his lady. About ten o'clock the Governor sent a sergeant to me, to invite me to breakfast; to which I answered, that as I was not quite recovered of a dangerous illness, I could not wait upon him then, but hoped I should be able to have that pleasure to-morrow. The sergeant answered by advising me to go by fair means, if I did not wish to be dragged to the fort by main force. To this I replied in short, by desiring him to mind his own business, and carry my answer; at the same time that I advised him to make his confession before he ventured to come on any such enterprise.

About noon I saw the hettman coming towards our house. I received him very politely, and he informed me that he came on the part of the Governor to persuade me to come to the fort. The business, he told me in confidence, was to discuss one of the ridiculous fancies of the Chancellor, which I might easily overthrow, and consequently, that I ought to make no difficulty in accompanying him. But when I replied that my illness did not permit me to wait upon the Governor, and that I certainly should not go that day, he became angry, and threatened to force me thither by his Cossacks. I laughed at his threats, which did not tend to restore his calmness. He called out to his Cossacks to come in and compel me to follow him. I whistled, and five of my companions instantly rushed in, and disarmed the hettman and two Cossacks, to whom I declared that they were my prisoners.

After this stroke, the hettman asked permission to write to the Governor, and I promised to dispatch a letter from him, provided it was first submitted to my perusal. In his letter he proposed to the Governor to enter into terms with me, at the same time informing him that he was himself detained as a prisoner. Together with his letter I sent one in my own name to the Governor, in which I explained that the premeditated treachery of the Chancellor, which I was sufficiently informed of, had induced me to take this step, and that I entreated him not to consider it as an attempt to incite an

insurrection, as it depended on his excellency's pleasure to permit me to depart for Lopatka.

About five in the evening, the Governor sent me word that if I did not set the hettman at liberty I should pay for my insolence at the price of my life; that my trial would be proceeded on in full assembly the next day, where, if I should be found innocent, he would take care that I should receive satisfaction from the Chancellor; but that, in case I was conscious of guilt, he advised me to come and apply to the goodness and clemency of the throne for my pardon.

In a written answer to this message I replied that if myself alone were personally concerned I would not hesitate a moment to appear before him, but as the chief of a party, acknowledged as such by his own proper order, I could not act without consulting my companions: and as it was late I proposed likewise to consult them on the morrow. I added that my personal conduct, as well as the liberty of the hettman, would depend on their decision.

At nine in the evening I sent a party of six associates to seize the Chancellor, but he took care not to stir out of the fort: in his stead, however, they brought me Ismailow, his nephew, Szudeikin, his secretary, and the tajon, who was intended to be produced in evidence against me.

On the 26th I received two red ribbons from Miss Aphanasia, at the same time that I learned from one of our associates that the Governor had summoned a council, at which no one could give an account how Ismailow and the tajon had been carried off; that, as no witnesses appeared, the Governor had reproached the Chancellor, and threatened him with the effects of his anger, calling him a traitor, who took a pleasure in exciting disturbances; and lastly, that every one was persuaded that the accusation of the Chancellor being false, Ismailow and the tajon had disappeared, because incapable of standing the examination. He further reported that the Governor, enraged at the witnesses not appearing, had dismissed the council, and retired to the fort.

At eleven o'clock I received a message that the Governor was convinced of my innocence, and consented that the company should keep Mr. Hettman as an hostage; but that, for the

sake of the form, he would send four soldiers for me, to whom he begged me to surrender. In reply to this message I answered that I would entirely depend on the word and honour of the Governor, who might send his guard for me, and that in the meantime I would do everything in my power to persuade my associates to consent to my departure, which I had no doubt they would agree to, in consideration of their holding the hettman as an hostage.

Immediately after I had dismissed this messenger, I received another, with a letter from Miss Aphanasia, who entreated me to come to the Governor, and assured me that her father was more prejudiced in my favour than ever. I could depend on the integrity and attachment of this amiable young lady, and her letter might have had its influence on me, if I had not observed that it contained many clippings of red ribbon, which showed me in what manner to proceed. I therefore gave orders to Messrs. Baturin, Wynbladth, and Panow, to place themselves at the head of their divisions, in readiness to act in the night, as I expected an attack, from the information I had received, that the soldiers of the garrison, as well as the Cossacks of the town, were busied in preparing their arms. Our number amounted to fifty-seven persons, but Mr. Crustiew informed me that he had sent an order to Mr. Kuzneczow to return with his people, and that he expected him at the close of the night. In order that I might not be taken by surprise, I formed three divisions, who stationed themselves round my house, while the fourth division remained within.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Government sends a military force to take the Count prisoner—The exiles oppose them, and by their superior bravery and military skill, assisted by a fortunate concurrence of events, they gain possession of the fort—The Governor is slain in the attack.

AT five in the evening, I observed a corporal with four grenadiers, who came and stopped at my door, where they called out to me to open it by order of the Empress. I jocularly answered that he lied, for that the empress being at Petersburg, would not honour such a rascal as him with her orders; but told him that if he thought proper to behave with civility, we might perhaps transact our affairs in an amicable manner. Upon this he said that the Governor had informed him that it was agreed I should follow him, and consequently that he was ready to comply with my wishes in every respect. I then proposed that he should enter alone to drink a glass with me, and afterwards take charge of some papers that were necessary to be presented to the Governor. He consented, and I accordingly admitted him, shutting the door after him, at which instant he beheld four pistols presented to his breast, and was threatened with instant death if he should dare to utter a single word. After conducting him into my chamber, I questioned him concerning every particular I was desirous of knowing, and when his deposition was finished, I ordered him to call the soldiers one by one, each by name, to come in and drink a glass, which he was forced to comply with. In this manner I became master of the detachment, which I caused to be bound, and deposited safely in the cellar.

At nine in the evening I received notice that a detachment had been observed on their way towards the ravine. I therefore took the detachment of Mr. Wynbladth with me, and

called out to them not to attempt to pass. They answered by several musket shots; in return for which I ordered my party to fire on those who were foremost, and after three had fallen the detachment remained motionless, and lay close with their faces to the ground. I could easily observe, however, that the officer had dispatched a man towards the fortress, no doubt with the intention of requesting assistance. For this reason I sent out a person upon discovery, but nothing was perceived till about eleven o'clock, when I received information that a body of troops were advancing towards our rear, and that from the noise there was reason to believe they had cannon with them. I gave orders to Mr. Wynbladth to observe the detachment at the ravine, and after causing the division of the centre to join me, I myself advanced towards the enemy's troops. Before we met, I saw Mr. Stephanow, who, though scarcely able to walk, came armed, and had only time to tell me that he came to conquer or die with me. This resolution secured him my esteem; for though the poor man could scarcely support himself, he nevertheless did everything in his power to encourage the associates.

When we came within the distance of fifty paces, the commanding officer of the detachment called out to us to surrender ourselves prisoners, otherwise he would not spare us. I replied that it was necessary we should know the conditions, and he in return asked what conditions I wished to propose. Our conference led us within fifteen paces of them, at which distance we began our fire, and our adversaries were so disheartened at our first discharge that they left their cannon and fled hastily towards the wood. The officer was highly to blame in this respect, for if he had retired towards the fortress,*

* The second town of this peninsula is Bolshoreczkoy Ostrogg. It is composed of five hundred houses regularly built, which form one single street, inhabited by Cossacks. The name Bolshoreczkoy denotes a great river. To the southward of the town, within cannon-shot, is built a fortress, tolerably regular, having a ditch, five bastions and twenty battering cannon (*sic*) ["*canons en batterie*," should be translated "twenty guns mounted," as appears from the context these were only four-pounders]. In this fortress the Governor resides, with a garrison of two hundred and eighty soldiers under his command. (See "Benyowsky's Description of Kamchatka," chap. xxxii. p. 277, not included in present edition of his Memoirs.)

we could never have forced it. His misconduct inspired me with hope. No more than a short quarter of an hour was required to collect my people. I availed myself of their artillery to fire on the detachment placed behind the ravine; and my fire, though in the air, prevented any of them from venturing to rise; so that I had perfect liberty to approach the fort. The sentinel seeing us come with cannon, took us for the detachment, and, after challenging us, asked if we had brought the prisoners, to which I caused one of my people to answer in the affirmative. The man then worked like a fury to lower the drawbridge; which done, we entered with spirit, and finding only twelve men of the guard, they were quickly dispatched. While a party of my associates mounted to clear the casemates, I caused the drawbridge to be raised, and placed a guard. These precautions being taken, as I heard a firing in the court, and saw that my comrades were fastening the petard to force the inner gates, I ventured to pass through a window which I found open. Madame Nilow and her children at sight of me, implored my protection to save their father and husband. I immediately hastened to his apartment, and begged him to go to his children's room to preserve his life; but he answered that he would first take mine, and instantly fired a pistol, which wounded me. I was desirous, nevertheless, of preserving him, and continued to represent that all resistance would be useless, for which reason I entreated him to retire. His wife and children threw themselves on their knees, but nothing would avail: he flew upon me, seized me by the throat, and left me no other alternative than either give up my own life, or run my sword through his body. At this instant the petard exploded and burst the outer gate. The second was open, and I saw Mr. Panow enter at the head of a party. He entreated the Governor to let me go, but not being able to prevail on him, he set me at liberty by splitting his skull.

April 27th. No words can describe the unhappy scene this event produced. Madame Nilow fell at my feet, her daughters fainted, and the firmness of my mind was scarcely equal to the shock. I was ready to sink to the ground, when Mr. Panow, seeing me in this situation, obliged me to quit the apartment, and assured me that he would take care of Madame Nilow and

her family. He begged I would hasten to a party of my associates, who were still fighting with the soldiers. I went out into the court, where I saw a new spectacle; it was covered with dead and wounded, some of whom informed me that our companions were busied in forcing a subterraneous place, in which several soldiers had taken refuge. I made haste to save the lives of these unfortunate men, and having met with Mr. Wynbladth and Crustiew, with four other associates, quickened my steps towards the bastion under which the casemate was, when all at once we heard a musket shot, and the cry of enemies. These shots were followed by regular discharges, which convinced us that they could not proceed from the fire of our people, who were dispersed in various places. We therefore returned to our sentinel, who kept constantly calling out, the enemy! When we came to him, and mounted the *banquette* of the palisade, we saw a large party of Cossacks making preparations for an attack. In consequence of this, I detached Mr. Wynbladth to collect all the associates, leaving only a guard of four men to watch over the soldiers in the casemate; and in the meantime I was forced to sustain a brisk attack. It was a fortunate circumstance, however, that the ladders which the Cossacks had brought were too short, and the obscurity of the night did not permit our enemies to observe the weakest places of the fort. Their continual fire assisted us to direct our murdering pieces at them, which slew fourteen men in ten minutes, while no one on our side had received a wound. On the arrival of Mr. Wynbladth with twenty-two associates, we mounted two three-pounders on the platform—two rounds from these were sufficient to disperse our military opponents.

After their retreat, as we had reason to fear a second attempt, we busied ourselves in mounting and charging all the cannon of the place, and afterwards cleared the courtyard and casemates of the dead. The associates obeyed my orders with the greatest zeal and activity; so that at three in the morning everything was in perfect order.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The proceedings of the Count and his party of exiles, from the time of gaining possession of the fort to the time of the surrender of the military force of the Government, who gave hostages to the Count.

THE sentinel of the bastion having heard a second noise on the city side, I went up myself and saw several lighted torches in motion, which determined me to send out some persons to make discoveries. Mr. Crustiew undertook this commission, with two of the associates.

After their departure I sent to request permission to see Madame Nilow, which being granted, I waited upon her and found her on her bed. I threw myself at her feet to beg her pardon for having been the involuntary cause of the death of her husband, and entreated her to consider my behaviour towards him, when I was desirous of preserving his life at the risk of my own. Her grief, extreme as it was, did not urge her to make any reproaches; she only asked for her children, and begged that the guard Mr. Panow had set over herself and them might be withdrawn. But when I informed her that the guard was designed merely for her preservation, she consented that it might remain. With respect to her children, I was ignorant where they had been secured; but a servant informed us that Mr. Panow had conducted them into the hall, and had taken care to have them bled by Mr. Lapin. This suggestion reminded me of the propriety of Madame Nilow's undergoing the same operation, to which she consented: I therefore hastened to send Mr. Lapin with directions for that purpose; and as I did not think it decent to intrude myself upon a family so overwhelmed with misfortune, I recommended to this gentleman to use every care and attention in his power to mitigate the distresses of their situation.

When I went out to visit the posts, I received advice that Mr. Crustiew had returned, and I therefore went to inquire what he had discovered. He informed me that the town was entirely abandoned by the men; that the hettman, delivered from his imprisonment by a party of men, had armed all the Cossacks, and had retired to the heights at half a league distant from the fort, where he declared he would starve us out; and that his troops did not amount to less than seven or eight hundred men.

On this information I assembled my companions, and represented to them that we were certainly out of the danger of an attack in the fort, but that if we should defer the taking a speedy resolution to act without losing a single moment, we should, perhaps, find ourselves, in the course of twenty-four hours, so well invested that we should not be able to get out, and by that means should be reduced to surrender at discretion from mere hunger. I informed the company of the report of Mr. Crustiew, and requested every one to give his advice respecting the proper steps to be taken in the present state of embarrassment. But as no plan was agreed on, I disclosed mine, which I had already formed beforehand, the moment I was informed of the resolution of Mr. Hettman. It was as follows:

I declared my resolution to send a detachment of twenty-two or twenty-four associates into the town to drive all the women and children into the church; that as soon as they should be there secured, all the furniture of wood and other combustible matters which could be found should be piled round the church; and when everything should be thus disposed, which was very possible to be done before daybreak, notice should be given to the women to prepare themselves for death, at the same time that they should be informed that the determination of their husbands to oppose us by force had left us no other expedient than to sacrifice their families. And lastly, that after this declaration it should be proposed to the women to send three of their number, with twelve young girls, to their parents, to require them to lay down their arms.

The company agreed to this proposal, and Mr. Pànow undertook to carry it into execution. But he observed that it was

necessary in his opinion to convey the body of the Governor into the same church, with the intention of more effectually intimidating the women. After his departure I gave the necessary orders, and the body of this unfortunate chief, whose life had been ever dear to me, was instantly carried to the place of destination.

The continual hurry of action had made me forget my wound; but I was desirous of taking advantage of this moment of tranquillity, and accordingly sent for Mr. Lapin, who declared that the consequences might be dangerous, because I had suffered the blood to coagulate. In fact the frost had congealed a large quantity, and in order to thaw it, I was obliged to approach the fire, which gave me the most excruciating pain. I could not stand up nor walk until Mr. Lapin had extracted the ball, in which operation I found him very skilful. After my wound had been dressed, as I was not capable of using my leg, he caused me to be conveyed into the chamber where the rest of the wounded men were, and where I had the mortification to see nine dead, and seven dangerously wounded of my party, with more than fifty soldiers of the garrison wounded; the dead having been thrown into one of the bastions. When I had given orders that the necessary assistance might be administered to all who were in want of it, I retired into the hall of the Chancery to rest; but my uneasiness respecting the success of my project did not permit me to take any repose until the return of Mr. Panow, who related that he had shut up more than a thousand women, girls and infants, who had all unanimously requested leave to send some one of their number to their husbands, whom they promised to bring back to our feet.

The day beginning to appear, I thought proper to hasten this expedition, and determined to send one of my associates with the woman, beating a drum as the sign of a parley, at the same time that he should carry a proper summons to the following effect:

"We are informed of the resolution you have taken to block us up in the fort, and reduce us to the necessity either to perish by hunger, or have recourse to your mercy by surrendering at discretion. This resolution shows very little judgment

on your part; for in truth it is impossible for you to persuade us that your determinations are directed to this end, while you have left in our power the most precious deposit which nature has given you, your wives, your daughters, and your children; who must secure us from your senseless rage, unless you are monsters abhorred by nature. You will be the real executioners of your families, and their blood will cry out for vengeance against you. It remains in the meantime for you to adopt one of the two propositions we here make.

"1. We demand that, one hour after the reception of this message, you shall set at liberty the four associates you made prisoners at the time the hettman was set at liberty; and that afterwards you shall lay down your arms, and present yourselves unarmed at the fort, in order that we may take hostages from amongst you, which may be necessary to prevent such incidents as may hereafter occasion new hostilities.

"2. That on your refusal to comply with these proposals, we will set fire to the church in which your wives and children are confined. It shall be their tomb; their cries will convince you of the accomplishment of our resolution.

"We send the present to you at nine o'clock precisely; hasten to assemble, and carry into execution such resolutions as you may judge most suitable to your present situation. Our resolution shall be carried into effect at ten precisely."

After having caused the present writing to be signed by the chiefs of our association, I sent Sibeaw towards the Cossacks, with four women and twelve children.

After the departure of our messenger the associates busied themselves in amassing the wood of chairs, tables, &c., and different utensils round the church. About eight o'clock Madame Nilow asked to speak with me; but when she heard that I could not rise to pay my respects to her, she came herself, with her youngest daughter. The fatigue I had endured throughout the night, and the effusion of blood which had altered my countenance, made her to forget her own grief. She ran towards me, and her first words, which expressed her fears for my situation, afforded no small consolation to my mind. This worthy lady, after showing a proper sense of the loss of her husband, told me that, though propriety forbad

her seeing me, she could not avoid declaring at that moment that she acknowledged my innocence in all that had passed; and that she had with wonder beheld my forbearance, at the time when wounded by her husband, and in the most imminent danger of my life, I did not use my arms against him. For this cause, she said, I was justified in her opinion; but that, as it would be impossible for her to make the public adopt the same sentiments, she had resolved to retire immediately after the funeral of her husband; for the performance of which she requested my permission and support. She continued her discourse by telling me that with regard to her daughter, as she saw her firmly attached to my person, and could not expose her to the resentment of her sisters and her family, she consented to put her into my hands, provided I would promise to establish her in the manner I had assured her, by marriage. In this situation, urged by the necessity of calming the mind of an unhappy mother, whose virtue and firmness of soul I have every reason to admire, I promised all she required. She then embraced her daughter, advised her always to preserve the same attachment to me, and wished her every happiness; and at last hastily rising, she passionately exclaimed, "you are the cause of the loss of her father, become her husband, and be a father to her!"

She departed, and her daughter informed me that she had been tormented by the reproaches of her sisters, who openly accused her of having been in the plot, though she would have gladly consented to the loss of her own life to have preserved that of her father. At these words she burst into tears, but continued her discourse by observing that, in the present situation, no other resource offered itself to her but to follow me: but, in order that the public might not reproach her mother for having consented to her departure with me, she requested that I would cause her to be carried off. I promised to proceed accordingly; after which she likewise retired, wishing me success in the conduct of my enterprise.

At a quarter after nine, having received no answer from the Cossacks, I ordered four fires to be lighted, at the distance of three fathoms from each angle of the church. At half an hour after nine, I received intelligence that a number of handker-

chiefs were seen fastened to pickets on the mountain, with which signals were made. At three-quarters after nine, about fifty men were seen running with all their force towards the fortress, but without arms, which led me to think that the Cossacks had determined to surrender. At eleven minutes after ten, two Cossacks appeared before me, almost breathless, who told me that they had been dispatched to inform me that my first proposition was accepted, and that, in the course of half an hour, the whole troop would present themselves unarmed; for which reason they begged me to proceed no further until they could arrive.

A moment afterwards Sibeaw likewise arrived, and declared that on the first reading of his letter they had determined to march straight to the church to deliver their families, but on being informed by the women that the combustible matters were piled together, and the fire at hand, so that their resolution would only hasten the destruction of so many innocent creatures, they entered into a debate, which could end only in the imprisonment of the hettman, whom they were bringing to me. At a quarter past eleven the troops at last arrived, and as I had given my orders to Mr. Panow, he caused those to enter into the fort whom I had determined on as hostages, and sent the others to the church to bring their wives into the town. At the same time he took the precaution to send a detachment to the mountain, for the purpose of guarding the arms until they should be removed into the fort. Everything being thus in a state of tranquillity, I caused the casemate to be opened, out of which came forty-two soldiers and the Chancellor, whom I sent to accompany the hettman. The number of our hostages amounted to fifty-two persons, all principal men of the place, whose lives were to answer for the behaviour of the people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Transactions from the time of the receiving of hostages from the military of the Province, to the final embarkation of the Count and his party in the *St. Peter and St. Paul.*

AT noon Mr. Panow made a review of our associates, and reported that Mr. Meder was not present. Search was made among the dead, but he was not found, and we were very uneasy concerning his fate, until Mr. Crustiew assured us that he believed he was securely hidden at home, and that if I pleased to send he had no doubt but he would be found in the oven. Mr. Panow immediately sent four armed companions, who returned with him, but before he was brought in, Mr. Crustiew informed me that Mr. Meder had been found on his knees, and that on their entrance he cried out he was innocent and knew nothing of the plot. This recital made us laugh, but I was greatly surprised when I heard that Mr. Meder still believed that he was in the hands of Government. For the more perfect assurance of this, I sent for him. At his first appearance he threw himself on the ground, and repeated his oaths that he knew nothing of the plot. I caused him to be lifted up, but this did not prevent his taking me for the Governor, and continuing his delirium. It was not till after I had shaken hands with him, and given him a glass of brandy, that he came to himself, and freely related, that at the first firing he withdrew into his house, and prayed to God for our preservation, and that about daybreak, having heard the Cossacks knock at the door, he fainted away, and when he came to himself he was convinced of our destruction; an idea which had deprived him of his presence of mind.

After taking a little refreshment, I gave my orders to each

of the chiefs. Mr. Crustiew was charged to go down the river to seize the corvette *St. Peter and St. Paul*, with the assistance of Mr. Kuzneczow and his party, and to burn all the other ships or barks. Mr. Baturin was ordered to examine the magazine and the treasury, to make an inventory of their contents. Mr. Panow undertook to superintend the funeral of the late Governor, and the burial of the dead. Mr. Wynbladth had the care of the military services; and for my own part, as my wound became exceedingly painful, I was incapable of performing any duty; but I placed all my hope in the skill of Mr. Meder; for Mr. Lapin's knowledge extended no further than to the treatment of wounds.

In the evening I entreated Madame Nilow to permit me to see her, but she refused. In the night Miss Aphanasia came to see me, and after expressing her grief for my sufferings, she informed me that Madame Nilow intending to depart in two days, it would be necessary to carry her off as soon as possible. I dissipated the apprehensions of this amiable young lady, and afterwards had a light sleep.

On the 28th, every preparation being ready for the funeral, I gave orders to acquaint Madame Nilow that the ceremony waited for her orders. She determined that it should be performed without delay. The whole town was therefore obliged to repair to the church; and the burial was made with the greatest pomp. Twenty-one guns were fired from the fortress. After this ceremony I ordered Mr. Panow to persuade the archbishop, either by threatenings or promises, to preach a sermon in the church in favour of the revolution we had produced, and afterwards to receive the oath of fidelity from all my companions towards me, upon the gospels at the altar, and that after all this ceremony he should carry away the miraculous image of St. Nicholas, in order that the liturgy might be duly performed on board. This proceeding appeared to me to be useful, as by means of their religious superstition, I might have the greater power over the minds of such as were governed by the prejudices of their faith. I passed this day under a fever, and was informed in the evening that everything had been conducted in the best possible order. Towards midnight the fever returned, and I had only time to

instruct Mr. Panow of my intention to carry off Miss Nilow, and to give him my reasons for so doing.

May the 2nd. During the three foregoing days I was delirious, in which time I was bled three times, and Mr. Panow did not think proper to interrupt me; but at three in the afternoon, Mr. Meder affirming that I was out of danger, he informed me that Mr. Crustiew had taken possession of the corvette, and that the inventories of the contents of the magazines were made; the people being at present busied in collecting provisions for our voyage. And last of all he informed me that Madame Nilow was gone, and that the instant before her departure she came to see me, and wept bitterly, without speaking a word. I then asked what was become of her daughter, and he replied, that the evening before the departure of her mother, he had caused her to come out of the window without the least knowledge of her sisters, who, at their awaking, made a disturbance. But that their mother having hastened their departure, showed great signs of resentment against her daughter who had escaped; by which means her other sisters were persuaded that the disappearance of their youngest sister was voluntary. He informed me, that since their departure, Miss Aphanafia had not quitted my bedside until this day, after Mr. Meder had assured her that I was out of danger, and persuaded her to take some rest.

In the evening, finding myself somewhat better, I admitted the officers of my party and my associates, to whom I expressed my strong sense of their behaviour. This day I ordered rafts to be made, to carry our artillery and ammunition on board the vessel, and on this same day likewise eighteen volunteers offered themselves to follow my fortunes, among whom was Ismailow, the nephew of the Chancellor. This man had contrived sufferings for the secretary of the Chancery, Mr. Szudeikin, by charging him with all the mischief he had himself intended doing to the company; and during the night he insinuated himself so well into the good opinion of my companions, that he obtained not only his pardon from them, but likewise their assistance to revenge himself on Szudeikin for several different proceedings.

This rascal conducted them to the house of Szudeikin, who certainly had made no attempts to injure us, where they dragged him out of bed, beat him severely, and after pillaging his house, left him half dead.

On the 3rd of May, after I had received an account from Mr. Panow of the conduct of Ismailow, I caused him to be put in irons. On the same day I had the archives of the Chancery packed up, to carry them with me. The great quantity of furs which my officers found in the magazines made me perfectly easy as to the means of providing for the subsistence of all my companions on my arrival in Europe. I therefore began to enjoy some calmness, when at ten o'clock Miss Aphanasia came to me. She at first used every effort to conceal her sorrow and tears, but they at last overcame her attempts, and, as she was oppressed by extreme grief, I had not much difficulty in obtaining a knowledge of what afflicted her. The information she had received gave me great uneasiness at first; but at last she inspired me with that respect which a noble confidence produces in all the affairs of life. This amiable young lady put a letter into my hands, and simply said, "I know all, forgive the first emotions of grief; I am prepared, and you have no future weakness to fear." Surprised at the resolute tone with which she pronounced these words, I opened the letter: it was written by Stephanow, who informed Miss Aphanasia, that after having been deceived and betrayed by me, she owed the most eminent vengeance to herself and family; to effect which he offered his services. He informed her that I was married, and consequently incapable of placing her in any estimable rank of life. He represented, that after this information, as she could never become my wife, she could not without dishonour follow my party: and he finished his letter by declaring that he would efface her shame by my blood, for which purpose he waited only the re-establishment of his health, in order to offer her his hand. This letter, at any other time, would have inspired me with pity for an unhappy man, who was rushing hastily to his destruction; but at that moment it affected me strongly. For I had proposed to defer my confession until I could procure a proper match for the young lady. In this state of astonishment she

roused me out of my reverie, by saying: "Listen my dear friend, do not afflict yourself: your Aphanasia will not be unhappy. She loves you, and will always love you. She cannot call herself your wife, but you may keep her as your child." Immediately after which she said, "Shall it not be so, my dear papa." This ingenuity and freedom of character, united to the heroic sentiments of so amiable a person, went to my heart, and I could not avoid paying the tribute to such elevated sentiments. I begged her pardon for having concealed my situation from her, and pleaded in my justification, that I was actuated by a regard for my family, and connected with a company whose members had exposed their lives to preserve mine; and, with a view to interest her still more and obtain her indulgence, I likewise urged as an excuse, the sentiments that I entertained for her. My words, though very ill calculated for my justification, were received with such interest as secured my pardon, which she pronounced by declaring that nothing in the world could destroy her attachment for me. She added that she would be contented to live in the country where I should fix my abode, and should enjoy perfect happiness in seeing me, and calling me father. Her hopes, she said, were to enjoy perfect repose in the bosom of my family, as she was resolved to renounce marriage entirely; and the only promise she requested of me was, to consider her as my own daughter, and permit her to change her clothing, with a view that, when clothed as a man, she might be less embarrassing to me.

Mr. Panow interrupted our conversation. This faithful friend being informed of what had passed, desired leave to go and destroy his relation; but soon after, hearing the resolution of Miss Aphanasia, he threw himself at her feet, to render homage to her courage. She at last retired with that tranquillity of mind which can only result from a resolution firmly taken. After her departure, Mr. Panow informed me that he had heard the day before that Miss Aphanasia had discovered my marriage, though he had not been able to discover the name of the person who had betrayed me. He begged me to permit him to abandon his relation to justice, in order to deliver society from a monster, who, by his intrigues

and wickedness, might hereafter lead the whole company to destruction. It was not without great difficulty that I could dissuade him from his intentions, but at last I succeeded. At this instant Mr. Baturin arrived, who informed me he had been present at a scene with Mr. Stephanow, where Miss Aphanasia having come in, made the bitterest reproaches for his want of attachment and fidelity to me. She declared that she despised his character and his person; that she had never looked upon him in any other light than as a monster of impiety and ingratitude; that he was basely mistaken to think that she had ever wished to become my wife, as she knew my situation from myself; and that her determination to attach herself to me was as a friend and daughter. She finished her discourse by advising Stephanow to enter into his own breast, to dismiss every idea of love towards her, and alter his behaviour in future. Stephanow, irritated at this discourse, became furious, and took up one of the pistols which lay beside his bed; but Baturin disarmed him, and caused him to be immediately conducted into a separate house, where he was at that time, guarded by two of the associates.

This day I distributed among my associates all the money of the imperial chest, and a quantity of silk, satin, and taffaties. I likewise received a letter from Mr. Crustiew, who pressed me to hasten to the port, in order to restrain the associates, who had behaved improperly to the natives.

May the 4th. This day a council was held to judge Mr. Stephanow, and sentence was passed, that he should be excluded in every respect from their meetings, and from all command among the associates. Just before the breaking up of the committee, Miss Aphanasia presented herself in the dress, and with the arms of a man, and the company named her Achilles. Her figure in this dress was charming, and she certainly had as much courage as it is possible for a woman to have. About noon the rafts being ready, I sent twenty-five of the associates to the seaside, with thirty-three hostages under their care, the charge of whom was embarrassing to me in the town. I likewise sent one hundred and forty-six sledges by land, loaded with forces, to be embarked on board the corvette.

On the 5th of May, 1771, I ordered the priest to celebrate solemn Divine service, and at the reading of the gospel I caused all the associates who were present to enter into an oath of fidelity towards me. At the end of this service I gave an entertainment at the fort, at which several of the inhabitants were present. At half-past seven o'clock I gave orders for our departure on the 6th of May.

On the 6th, after having nominated persons to the administration, and caused the inhabitants to make oath that they would do nothing without the consent of me or my companions during the whole time we should continue at Kamchatka, I effected my departure, and the business was transacted to the great contentment of both parties, though from different causes. At eleven o'clock in the evening I arrived at Tsekawka, where I was received with enthusiasm by my companions and by Mr. Csurin, commander of the corvette, who assured me that the vessel would be ready to sail on the 11th of May.

On the 7th, after visiting the works, I was satisfied with the assiduity of my companions. My satisfaction was still greater to see one hundred and eighty Cossacks at work, whom they had forced to assist them. This day Mr. Crustiew warned me that the Kamchadal tajon of Kawka had entered into an oath with a lieutenant of the garrison, who had escaped, and had promised to assassinate me, at the same time that he informed me that the tajon was come, and requested permission to speak to me. I gave immediate orders to seize him, and bring him before me, where he denied the accusation, though he admitted that the lieutenant had made the proposal to him. A pistol found on this emissary aggravated his case, and convinced me of the propriety of administering to him fifty strokes of a bludgeon. He had scarcely received twelve before he confessed his crime, and declared that the lieutenant was then with the tajon of a neighbouring village, together with Mr. Gurgiew, brother-in-law to Mr. Crustiew, who was strongly attached to the late Government. Upon this disposition, I sent Mr. Kuzneczow, with six associates, to seize the criminals, whom they brought back at five o'clock. Their sentence, and its execution, was deferred till the following day. On this day I received a request from more than thirty women and girls, who were

desirous of following the fortune of their friends, but as it was impossible to take so large a number of people on board, three only were accepted, and the others were refused with the promise, that on our arrival at the first island we would send the vessel for them.

On the 8th, in the morning, the company condemned Mr. Gurgiew, the exile, and Mr. Valnoy, the lieutenant, to receive fifty strokes of the knout, and the tajon double the number. This was instantly executed, and Messrs. Gurgiew and Valnoy were sent to the town to be cured.

On this day fourteen exiles arrived from different places, and begged me to receive them into our society, which was agreed to. At six o'clock the vessel, having undergone a complete repair, was rigged, and twenty-two bears were this day salted as part of our sea stock.

On the 9th and 10th the company were busied in loading the vessel. On the 11th, all being ready for departure, I delivered the hostages and sent them back to the town, except Mr. Szudeikin, secretary of the Chancery, whom the company forced to embark, to serve them in quality of cook, for which they gave us as a reason, that it was necessary that he should do penance for the mischiefs he had occasioned to the society at Kamchatka. On my arrival on board, I hoisted the colours of the confederation of Poland, which ceremony was attended with the discharge of twenty guns.

[In the original text a supplement is here added giving an abstract of voyages made to the eastward of Kamchatka, a description of Kamchatka as well as of the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, all compiled from the journals of Spanberg, Behring and Tsirikow.—*Vide* ante, chap. viii. pp. 140–141.]

Here ends the first volume according to the division made by the Count, whose signature is affixed to the manuscript in this place.

A CONTINUATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF THE COUNT DE BENYOWSKY: BEING A JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE BY SEA FROM THE PENINSULA OF KAMCHATKA TO CANTON IN CHINA.

ON the 11th of May, 1771, I went on board the corvette *St. Peter and St. Paul* in the port of Bolsha, where I made the following distributions for the sea-service, and caused twenty ports to be cut in the side of the vessel for cannon, twelve of which were of wood.

Myself, Count de Benyowsky, Commander-in-Chief.

Count Crustiew second.

QUARTERS.

After Guard.	*Forecastle.*
Mr. Panow,	Mr. Wynbladth,
Mr. Kuzneczow,	Mr. Stephanow,
Mr. Zablikow,	Mr. Meder,
Mr. Popow,	Mr. Ismailow,
Mr. Loginow,	Mr. Boscarew,
Mr. Csurin,	Mr. Kostromin,
Mr. Urbanowsky,	Mr. Gurcsinin,
Mr. Contrathimaitre,	Mr. Baturin,
29 Hunters, foremast men.	28 private men, serving before the mast.
37 persons.	36 persons.

Total, 75 doing duty.

9 women, and 12 passengers, } 21

On the whole, 96.*

* Vasilii Panow, killed at Formosa. Mr. George Panow, Captain Maxim Csurin, Asaph Baturin, Philip Zablikow, all died at Macao. John Popow

At eleven in the forenoon I caused Divine service to be celebrated, according to the rites of the Greek Church. Te Deum was chanted, and afterwards the whole company renewed their oath of obedience to my orders; at five in the evening dropped down the river and moored at the entrance.

Thursday, the 12th of May, weighed anchor, and after setting the hostages at liberty, sailed out of the harbour on a southern course. A very light breeze from north-north-west.

The day being hazy, and almost calm, anchored on the bank; depth of water from three fathoms and a quarter to three and a half; coarse greenish sand. At four o'clock a breeze springing up, set sail, and passed between the two banks. The vessel stuck in a floating piece of ice, which we broke by firing a cannon ball against it.

May the 13th, at daybreak we discovered the rock Alayd. At nine a.m. a consultation was held respecting the course to be sailed. I proposed to moor near one of the Kurelles Islands, to collect some provisions and bake bread; and the company declared their readiness to acquiesce in whatever I might judge proper.

Saturday, May the 14th, among the Kurelles Islands, close hazy weather, with snow, and a considerable irregular swell. Saw several whales pursued by the sword-fish. A very strong current observed from north to south; kept on a south-south-east course, having two islands in sight. The sight of these islands occasioned some disturbance, for several of the company requested me to come to an anchor, and as they thought proper to threaten me upon my not attending to their demand, I put two under confinement, and determined not to come to anchor at the Kurelles Islands, for fear of some mutinous consequences. In the middle of the channel between these two

John Loginow, were killed at Formosa. Mr. Contrathimaitre is evidently meant for 1 Contremaître, *i.e.*, boatswain's mate. Ismailow and Boscarew were the young men who had been apprenticed to the sea.

In his statement to the Bishop at Macao the Count alleged that he had left Kamchatka with eighty-five men and arrived with sixty-two. He here gives seventy-five doing duty, and twelve passengers, making eighty-seven, with nine women, in all ninety-six souls.

Deducting two, Ismailow and the Kamchadale, Parenczin, and his wife, landed at Behring's Isle (*vide infra*) his number would be accounted for.

islands our soundings were twenty-three fathoms, fine sand, and greenish coral. About six in the evening the wind increased; shortened sail during the night, and at daybreak discovered a bajdara, or boat of the country, which made for the shore at sight of us.

Monday, May the 16th. This day Ismailow was accused of having made a seditious proposal to the two Kamchadales; he was ordered into confinement upon bread and water.

Thursday, May the 19th, the isle Beering in sight; hazy weather. By a good observation I determined the latitude of this island to be 55 degrees 15 minutes north, and its longitude 8 degrees 0 minutes, from Bolsha. I came to an anchor at the distance of half a league from the western coast, in twenty-eight fathom water, coarse sand and shells. As soon as we had brought to I sent the small boat with Mr. Panow and ten armed associates to examine the island, with orders that when they had found a place of shelter to let me know by three fires, and send the canoe immediately for me; but in case they found any vessel in the harbour or road, they were directed to come back without landing. After his departure I hove up the anchor, and suffered the vessel to drive towards the island. At the distance of a quarter of a league the wind slackened, and forced me to come to. We soon observed the signal, and approached a bay, in which I found a very good bottom at fifty fathoms.

Friday, May the 20th, at anchor in a bay on the coast of the island of Beering, the weather fine and calm. Although Mr. Panow had assured me that he found no person upon the island, I nevertheless sent a party to make discoveries, and sent another party on shore to construct a cabin and ovens to bake our bread. Having determined to go on shore myself, I gave orders for cleaning the tiers and airing our provisions; after which I embarked in the small boat with six of the associates, and made a sketch of the bay.

When I came on shore I had a tent set up, and about five in the evening the party who had been sent upon discovery returned, and related that at the distance of a league from the bay they had discovered a cabin in which they found a dog, and underneath a tub a letter, which they brought me. Mr.

Kuzneczow, the commander of the party, assured me that he had likewise found four barrels of whale oil in the cabin, with ten or twelve quintals of salted fish. He added that, in his opinion, there were certainly people upon the island, because he had observed recent traces on the snow, and a bath newly constructed. To clear up my doubts I read the letter, which is as follows:

"Health to all those who may arrive on this island. I inform them that the ship *Elizabeth*, which left the port of Ochoczk in the year 1769 under my command, remained at this island a whole year, after having received much damage by tempests. After this long stay, being assured that all our attempts to put her into a situation to carry us home were useless, we broke her up and built boats out of her materials, in which I am about to proceed on a voyage towards the island which lies to the eastward, in hopes of finding some vessel in which myself and crew may return. Written January 24, 1771.

"Ivan Ochotyn, Captain.
"Baltasa Balakirow, Pilot."

On the southern part of the island Mr. Kuzneczow found likewise five crosses erected, one of which bore the following inscription:—

"To the honour of God and St. Nicholas, in the year 1769, on the 28th of April, this cross was erected by Peter Kreniczin, commander of the expedition sent for the discovery of California."

This last discovery was not of any consequence, but the discovery of a species of turnip and very good garlic was extremely useful to us, as well as the provision of salted fish and whale oil. With respect to the letter, after mature examination, I was convinced that the writing was fresh; several reflections led me to recollect that I had often heard speak of this Ochotyn, who was reported at Ochoczk to have become a pirate. To clear up my doubts I inquired of my companions whether any of them knew Ochotyn, and several of them immediately informed me that Ochotyn was not a

Russian, and that, having seized the ship he commanded, and persuaded his crew to follow his fortune, he had settled in the Aleuthes Islands, where during the last two years he had taken other Russian ships, whose crews had placed themselves under his command; so that the number of Europeans under him must amount to more than one hundred, besides that a number of the islanders had nominated him their chief. Upon this information I concluded that Ochotyn, or at least some of his party, were on the island; in consequence of which I chose five of our company, whom I sent out separately, well armed and supplied with provision, and likewise a letter of invitation addressed to Ochotyn or the people of his party. To prevent any unlucky mischance I gave orders for a strict look-out both on shore and on board.

Saturday the 21st, at Beering's Island, in the bay St. Maurice, so named by my companions, fine weather, and the snow melting. This day the flour was brought on shore, and we began to bake bread in five ovens we had built. My companions built me a commodious cabin. This day I dispatched twenty-two of the people to carry the salted fish and whale oil on board; six men were sent to cut wood, and the carpenter Nikita repaired the mainyard. In the evening sent on board twenty-four barrels of fresh water, four cords of firewood, and part of the salted fish, with a cask of garlic, and a quantity of roots. The night passed without disturbance, but at five in the morning I was awakened by Mr. Crustiew, who informed me that he had heard several shots fired to the southward of the island. I immediately went out of my cabin, and heard several other successive reports, on which I gave immediate orders to beat an alarm, and was joined by twenty of the people from on board. To discover what had happened, as well as to assist those who had been dispatched the evening before, I gave orders to Mr. Wynbladth to embark with sixteen men in the shallop, and proceed to the southern point of the bay, in order to observe more easily from whence the noise might proceed. After having dispatched him I left the command to Mr. Crustiew, and embarked in the small boat myself with eight of our people. We soon passed the shallop, and on our arrival at the south point I perceived a bajdara, which

rowed towards us, with five people on board. On their approach we perceived they were Russians, and one of them halloed and told us that he had a letter for the commander of the corvette *St. Peter*. They soon came up with us, and gave me the letter, which I read, and proposed to them to come on board my vessel. They agreed to this, and declared that their general had ordered them to come on board, which we accordingly did at ten o'clock precisely.

On my arrival I found my people in the greatest confusion. Mr. Stephanow informed me that he had discovered a mutiny by means of Alexi Andreanow. Upon examination I heard that Mr. Ismailow, with his friend Zablikow and fifteen others, had entered into an oath to seize the first opportunity, when the greatest part of the people should be on shore and myself on board, to secure my person, and afterwards return to Kamchatka; but, in case they could not carry this project into effect, that they should assassinate me, set fire to the vessel, and quit the island in the shallop. The deposition of Andreanow was confirmed by Popow and Rabalow. I therefore immediately armed those persons on whom I could place the most dependence, and afterwards mustered the whole company, to whom I exposed the authors of the plot. These were immediately put in irons, and carried on shore to be tried by a council which I nominated, and over which Mr. Crustiew was appointed to preside. After this business was finished I directed my attention to show every civility to the persons who brought Mr. Ochotyn's letter.

Sunday, May the 22nd. In the bay of St. Maurice, at Beering's Isle; weather squally, with rain, wind south-west. At three o'clock my adjutant presented to me a memorial in the name of the whole company, requesting that Mr. Ismailow and the Kamchadale Parenczin, with his wife, should be set on shore and abandoned in the island, and that the others, who had been seduced by them, should be punished with fifty lashes, and afterwards restored to their functions, first renewing their oath of obedience. I complied with this general request the more willingly as it was an object of great consequence to give an example and establish my authority by this proceeding. After I had sent my orders on shore in writing

to Mr. Crustiew, I communicated the contents of the letter I had received to the whole company. It was as follows:

"Health to the brave and intrepid commander of the vessel *St. Peter* and all his company.

"Dear friends and companions, we heard with much joy of your happy arrival on this island. The men whom you sent to find us have informed us of your whole intentions, and we have detained them less as hostages than as friends, whom we are desirous of sending back with provisions, which you must be in want of. Permit our companions who bring this letter to go on board your ship; it is probable they may meet with some acquaintance, which would be very agreeable to us. We entreat the commander to inform us whether he thinks proper to consent to a conference with us, and for this purpose we pray that he will send back our companions, and inform us of the place of rendezvous. We wish you all prosperity, and recommend ourselves to your friendship. Adieu.

"JEAN OCHOTYN,
"in the name of the company."

After having heard the different opinions respecting what was the most proper to be done, I determined to send back one of the five with my answer, and to keep the other four until the return of my own people. My letter was conceived in the following terms:

"I cannot express the satisfaction which I received from the information of your residence on this island. The conduct and behaviour of the famous Ochotyn have secured him my esteem for this year past, and nothing prevents my seeing him and assuring him of my friendship.

"Do not attribute the precautions which I require for our interview to mistrust; but persuade yourself that an excess of prudence is only hurtful to men who are destitute of courage. I require therefore, that to-morrow, at six o'clock, Mr. Ochotyn shall repair with four of his people to the southern point of the bay, where I will come at the same hour with an equal number; as soon as we come in sight of each other, we will lay down our arms and join company.

"MAURICE AUGUST."

This day was employed in carrying on board the biscuit which our people had made out of the damaged flour. Towards the evening I permitted six of our associates to go on a hunting expedition, with orders to return at six in the morning. Mr. Meder returned on board, and brought with him several nuts and some pieces of camphor wood, which had been wrought; he found these on the shore. About eleven o'clock we found the cable was cut, and weighed the anchor with great difficulty. At five in the morning I fired three guns, and leaving the command of the vessel in the hands of Mr. Panow, I embarked in the shallop with four associates. At three-quarters after five I arrived at the point, where I found Mr. Ochotyn on shore, by whom I was very politely received. He was a handsome figure, thirty-six years of age, and spoke very good German and French. After the first civilities he related his history and adventures, which deserve a particular narration. I shall confine myself, however, to the substance, which is as follows:

Mr. Ochotyn was a man of family in Saxony, and served under the Empress Elizabeth, in the rank of captain, in the regiment of Smolenskoi, which he left for the employment of adjutant to General Apraxin. When that General was arrested, by the order of the Empress, he was himself likewise sent to prison, with Mr. Baron Klusewsky, who is still an exile at Jakutzk, under the name of Fiskin. Mr. Ochotyn was not delivered from prison until he was sent as an exile into Siberia. On his arrival at Jakutzk, he obtained the favour of being sent to Ochoczk, where he engaged himself on board a ship fitted out for catching beavers. He made two voyages in this vessel, but, during the third, having secured the attachment of fifty of the crew, he seized the vessel at the Aleuthes Islands, with which he made prize of two others, whose crews joined his fortune. His party at first consisted of one hundred and thirty-four determined men, able to contend with the maritime force of Ochoczk. Eighteen months afterwards he had the good fortune to establish himself on one of the largest of the Aleuthes Islands, where he formed connections, by means of the marriages of his companions with the girls of the country. The dependence he could place on the friend-

ship of the natives of these islands had determined him to form colonies; but, as he was without the necessary arms and utensils, he had determined to visit Kamchatka and Ochoczk, with the intention of utterly destroying these two establishments, and carrying off everything which he might find suitable to his purposes.

After he had finished his explanation, he proposed to me to join forces in the execution of this project of eminent vengeance, which we had both equal reasons for being desirous of. In answer to this direct proposal, I replied that I was highly mortified that it was not in my power to comply with his intentions, because my situation required a speedy return to Europe: besides which I represented to him that his present force was sufficient to insure the success of his enterprise. But as he was determined to form colonies in the islands, I advised him to address himself to some European power, to obtain their support; for which purpose I offered him my services. These reflections appeared reasonable to him, and he accepted my offers, as I shall notice more amply in its place. On my part, I gave him a faithful account of my adventures, and we swore friendship to each other. After which we separated, he to join his companions, and myself to return on board, where I found everything in perfect order.

N. B. The family of Mr. Ochotyn is known in Saxony by the name of Leuchtenfeld, and he referred, in proof of his assertion, to Baron Laffert, a Prussian officer, who was exiled to Kolima, and returned to Europe in 1760, in consequence of the pressing reclamation which was made by his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Monday, May the 23rd. In the bay St. Maurice, in Beering's Island, clear weather, wind S.W., the whole day was employed in repairing the vessel. At three o'clock a canoe arrived from Mr. Ochotyn, with a present of one hundred and fifty fine beaver skins, in return for which I sent him two hundred pounds of gunpowder, one hundred pounds of lead, and a considerable quantity of iron work, &c. but the most acceptable present to Mr. Ochotyn's people was two hundred and forty ells of cloth and twenty-five sacks of flour.

In the evening I sent on board twenty-two sacks of biscuit

and two casks of salt fish. In the night I visited Mr. Ochotyn, in company with Mr. Panow; we found six cabins well built, and defended by a pallisade, flanked with four small cannon. He was seated near a fire, with thirty-five associates. Tea was first served up, and afterwards we employed the whole night in conversation, and in drawing up letters, which he gave me, with a view to determine some European power to assist his projects. At daybreak I took my leave, and returned on board at eight o'clock. At ten I assembled the whole company, and proposed quitting the island to continue our voyage to China, from which place we might most conveniently return to Europe. Upon this proposal, the company requested time to consider, and their resolution was postponed till the following day.

Tuesday, May 24th. In the bay of St. Maurice, at the isle of Beering. At two in the afternoon my adjutant presented three deputies from the company, who informed me that the resolution of the society was taken, and that they were determined to seek a passage to the northward of Kamchatka, as the season, being summer, assured our success, and even supposing we should find insurmountable obstacles, we should be always able to reach the continent of America. To this representation, as I had understood from my intimate friends that the company was resolved to follow their plan in spite of me, I consented, because unwilling openly to oppose their decision. For a great part of the company, after having reflected on what had happened at Kamchatka, might probably have repented, and have been disposed to act treacherously towards me, as the neighbourhood of Kamchatka would facilitate all their attempts.

In the evening I received advice from Mr. Ochotyn, that Mr. Stephanow had written to him, acquainting him, that he himself, together with a party of our associates, were resolved to enter into his troop; in consequence of which Mr. Ochotyn advised me to quit the island as soon as possible, and assured me that in case of a revolt, he would assist me in punishing the guilty. In consequence of this advice, I mustered the whole company, and declared to them that I should not follow their plan but with regret, as I was persuaded that it would

lead us into misfortunes, which it was now in our power to avoid. I assured them that I did not think it possible to double the cape Tsukcsi, and that, when the easterly monsoon failed, we might find it impossible to reach the coast of America; but that as I was determined to sacrifice my private opinions to the wish of the company, which should at all times be my law, I would satisfy their expectation, though at the same time I thought it necessary to warn the society that I had well-founded reasons to suspect that some among them were engaged in a design prejudicial to our common interests, and that I forebore mentioning the leaders merely with the hope that it would cause them to return to their duty, and that they ought to attribute my lenity to this motive. Being thus determined to quit the island with the first wind, I sent a party on shore to erect a cross with the following inscription:

"May the 24th, 1771. Maurice August Aladar de Benyowsky, after his happy deliverance from exile at Kamchatka, caused this cross to be erected during his stay at this island."

At ten o'clock Mr. Stephanow asked leave to speak with me in private. When I admitted him into my cabin, he informed me that he had discovered a plot against me, and that he was resolved to quit me no more, but to look to my preservation. I expressed my surprise at this, and freely declared, that if I had apprehended anything, I should have arrested him the first, as I had sufficient proofs against him; but that as I was not of a timid disposition, he was indebted for his safety to my contempt. After this answer I communicated the letter of Mr. Ochotyn to him, and informed him that I should be disposed to forget everything, and would not ask him even to name his accomplices, provided he showed a proper repentance, and gave me no occasion to recollect his criminal disposition, and, as a proof how far my delicacy to him proceeded, I would promise to keep his behaviour a profound secret, lest he should be universally despised upon its being known. The firmness with which I spoke to him overcame him, and he threw himself at my feet, acknowledging himself guilty, and imploring my forgiveness, which I granted.

Friday, May the 27th. Under sail. Clear weather and

excessive cold, wind strong and irregular, with a very heavy sea. Our vessel struck several times against ice-drifts of enormous magnitude, the surface of which was covered with wood. In the evening we were set fast between two ice-drifts, which floated in the direction of the vessel; the pitching of the ship caused a considerable damage to her fore parts against the ice; during the night we had a sudden squall, which threatened us with instant destruction. The violent pressure of the ice against the vessel, (the creaking noise of whose timbers greatly added to our apprehensions) produced a considerable leak, which occasioned us to pump without ceasing. In the morning we found our sails damaged and entirely frozen, for which reason I gave orders to keep a fire constantly at the foot of each mast upon the deck, which was likewise covered with ice, two inches thick. By this means I succeeded in thawing the sails. About ten o'clock the ice-drift on the starboard side broke away, and we disengaged ourselves from that on the larboard.

Saturday, May the 28th. At daybreak saw land; at eleven o'clock I gave directions to make a sketch of its appearance, and, though I was embarrassed by the disagreement of the Russian charts, I took it for Cape Apachazana (the Plate 7 omitted). Latitude in 59 degrees, 0 minutes; longitude in 13 degrees, 20 minutes; wind west-south-west; current from north to south; course east-north-east.

Sunday, May the 29th. A strong breeze and close cloudy weather, with a heavy swell from north-west, which frequently endangered us by driving large pieces of ice against the vessel. The considerable masses of these ice-drifts formed whole mountains around us, and threatened us with inevitable destruction, for the vessel being struck every instant by them was strongly agitated, and large masses of ice freezing to the ship's sides, and occasionally lifted out of the water by her motion, damaged her on all sides. Every roll was followed by an astonishing noise, occasioned by the rupture of these icy appendages. Our fears were greatly augmented by the increase of the water in the hold, and during the night the whole company were alarmed even to stupefaction. About four in the morning the wind increased and carried away our sprit-sail-

yard; and at about five we lost our foretop-mast. At six o'clock the vessel lay down on the larboard side, and the tiller could not be moved. Luckily for us, however, the arrival of daylight enabled us to see that part of the ice was jammed in between the rudder and the stern-post. I sent two of the company to beat it away, and afterwards we righted the vessel. It was very fortunate that this accident did not happen in the night, as in that case we should have been lost without remedy.

At nine Mr. Crustiew requested the meeting of a committee, in the name of the company, which I immediately complied with. As soon as the associates were assembled they requested me to continue our course no longer towards the north, as they were convinced that it would be attended with our destruction. This occasion gave me ample matter to reproach them for the little confidence they had shown me, in compelling me to hold this course. I thought it necessary to represent to them the many unhappy consequences which would result from my being exposed a second time to submit to their pleasure. The dreadful objects which had alarmed them the preceding day were still present around us, and gave every degree of efficacy to my discourse. I therefore found no difficulty in obtaining from the whole company a promise, that in future they would leave me at liberty to do whatever I might think proper and advantageous. As a mark of my satisfaction I gave orders for an extraordinary allowance of brandy to be given them. At ten o'clock Mr. Panow informed me that several of our associates were resolved to quit us at the first place where we might anchor. This discovery was immediately verified by the appearance of four of them, who demanded, in the name of a party, the number of which they refused to declare, to go on shore, under pretence of making a provision of beavers, whose skins might be of service to them on future occasions. The resolute manner in which these deputies made their demand gave me reason to fear a mutiny, which threatened to be so much more dangerous as we were in sight of land adjoining to Kamchatka. For this reason, after having requested they would wait a moment for my resolution, I ordered Mr. Wynbladth to collect a party

of such associates as we could most depend on, and come with them into my cabin, while Mr. Panow might overlook the movements of all those whom we had reason to suspect. This order was immediately put in execution, and directly afterwards I caused the mutineers to be seized, and gave orders for a council to be held in the afternoon for their examination.

Tuesday, May the 31st. At two p.m. assembled the council, to examine the prisoners. Andreanow declared that their number was twenty-two, and that Mr. Stephanow was probably at their head, though he could not positively affirm it, as he had not heard him mentioned, except by Sacharinow, which the latter denied. The council advised calling all hands, after which I stated the fact, and requested their advice on this occasion. Their resolution was unanimous to punish the criminals severely, and, if the author could be discovered, to throw him into the sea. In consequence of their resolution, those whom I had reason to suspect as chiefs of the plot were condemned to receive each twenty-five lashes; and the others, upon expressing their sorrow, were discharged, after asking pardon of the company. But as I had just cause to fear the consequences of this mutiny I took away their arms. Mr. Panow, irritated against his relation, whom he found always busied in caballing, declared to him that he was determined to put him to death himself on the first similar occasion. This declaration, made in presence of the whole company, produced an admirable effect.

In the evening I was alarmed by an outcry and tumult upon deck, occasioned by Sacharinow, the friend of Stephanow, who threatened to kill Sibeaw; but as Mr. Crustiew was present he caused Sacharinow to be seized and put in irons.

The night was clear, but the cold was so intense that all the water in the hold was frozen. Happily for us the wind had driven away the ice. At ten we saw several whales swimming from north to south. At eleven punished Sacharinow with fifty lashes.

Wednesday, June the 1st. At ten, land in sight, bearing east, one quarter south, which we soon after perceived to be an island. As we saw another cape bearing north-east one quarter north, I determined to pass between them, heaving

the lead. The depth of water was from twenty-four to thirty-six fathoms. At noon the cape bore north, one quarter west, and the island south.

Friday, June the 3rd. At three p.m. saw a very thick field of ice, to which a large mass of frozen earth was attached, with shrubs growing on it. I immediately gave orders to sound, and had ground at seventy-four fathoms, coarse sand and shells. The wind freshened at intervals, and it snowed almost continually. Towards evening the wind slackened a little, but soon after came on with redoubled fury and impetuosity. A hurricane arose in the south-west quarter, and blew with such violence that we had small hopes of beholding the break of day. The dashing of the ice against the vessel was so frequent that I expected every moment her sides would have been bulged. Happily I had the precaution to lower our yards and the top-masts; the mizen-mast was carried away. At the break of day the hurricane greatly increased, when on a sudden we perceived, at the distance of a league, a reef upon which the sea broke in a most dreadful manner. The return of day showed us more clearly the danger we had passed, by the discovery of masses of ice of a prodigious height piled one upon another.

Saturday, June the 4th. Being resolved to hold on my course until I had determined the distance between the two capes, which the Russians affirm to be very near each other, I stood to the north-west along shore, and about four p.m. observing that the northern part of the land of the cape of America, drew to the eastward, and stood off. At five, saw land bearing west-south-west, which we soon perceived to be islands; the ice which the current brought upon us carried us so near that we saw them in the night, and distinguished three in number at daybreak. To avoid the direction of the ice-drifts I made the best of my way by setting sail, and at ten a.m. we discovered land, and two vessels standing towards us. Our soundings were thirty-four fathoms. At eleven, moored at the distance of three leagues, in twenty-two fathoms, and took a view of the land.

Sunday, June the 5th. At anchor, surrounded with ice; the wind irregular, and increasing, with a heavy sea. At three

p.m. the boats reached us, and appeared to be Tsukcsi. I invited them on board by a Koreack, who was with us. They came without fear. It was by their means that I learned positively that we were no further distant from Tsukotzkoy Noss* than about fourteen leagues; that the islands we had seen were four in number, the most southerly being the largest; and that the cape we had quitted in the evening, was that of the great land Alaksina, the name by which the Tsukcsi denote America. At four, finding myself in danger from the ice, and being informed that it was impossible to pass further, I determined to return to the coast of America, for which the wind was favourable; at this instance the cable was cut by the ice-drifts, and I had only time to re-embark the Tsukcsi, to whom I made a present of some knives and brandy. At five p.m. set sail under the courses, the ship making much water. About ten we perceived an appearance of blackness to the southward, which indicted the vicinity of the last-mentioned islands. The ice incommoded us less, as the direction of the vessel was with the current. About six p.m. doubled the Cape of Alaksina, and at eleven discovered an entrance between the breakers and the shore. The cape sheltered us from the ice-drifts, and left us at liberty to work the ship; I therefore determined, at all events, to seek for anchorage.

Monday, June the 6th. Having approached the land, I discovered a bay in which I moored, and I surveyed this harbour, into which run two brooks.

As soon as we had moored, I ordered twenty-eight associates on shore, to set up tents made of our sails, and at two and a half p.m. I went on shore myself with Mr. Csurin, who having observed a place which promised to give us an opportunity of careening the ship, proposed to visit the spot. I therefore

* The Tschutski inhabit the north-eastern tract of Siberia. Tschukotskoi Noss was supposed to be the N.E. cape of this promontory (see *Coxe*. p. 234), but according to modern charts it is the S.E. cape of the Eastern Siberian in 64° N. lat. promontory whose eastern extremity is two degrees further north, called by the English, East Cape, since Captain Cook discovered it. The formidable cape of Tscukolskoi Noss was first doubled in the year 1648, by Deshnef. (See *Coxe* p. 253.)

gave the necessary orders for unloading her cargo, and Mr. Csurin was charged to overlook and make the necessary preparations. Thirty-six of the associates, under the command of Mr. Panow, were directed to undertake this, while the rest employed themselves in hunting, fishing, and cutting of wood.

Tuesday, June the 7th. All the people being busied at work, I requested Mr. Kuzneczow, as the most alert, to take some associates with him, and go in quest of discoveries. This day Mr. Csurin informed me that though the ship's timber were strained, yet it would be capable of sailing in the southern seas, and that the leaks were occasioned only by the loosening of the seams, which he hoped to remedy by caulking, in a few hours. This account was very agreeable to me, and I was assured of its truth by actual inspection. Mr. Kuzneczow did not return till eight in the evening, when he informed me that he had ascended the neighbouring mountain to the northward, and had discovered land to the north-east, but that to the eastward there lay an immense country with few mountains, and in many places without snow, and intersected by rivers. The approach of night not having permitted him to distinguish remote objects, he asked permission to take others of the associates with him to pursue his discoveries to the eastward; for he assured me that he had observed signs of its being inhabited. Seeing him so well disposed, and being desirous of obtaining a positive knowledge of this country, I permitted him to complete his discovery. I passed the night with several of my friends in watching our associates, as there was reason to fear some plot, but happily they were quiet.

Wednesday, June the 8th. The vessel being caulked, was loaded again, and the water-casks filled. Our fishery produced one cask and a half of fish, which we salted, and our hunting party brought only twenty beavers, with some sea-wolves; but they likewise brought us a great provision of garlic, and 740 roots of a very agreeable taste. They were nearly of the size of a child's head, and weighed from three to five pounds. At eleven a.m. all the people were on board, and we waited only the return of Mr. Kuzneczow.

Thursday, June the 9th. At one p.m. Mr. Kuzneczow arrived at the shore. I sent the small boat for him, and when

he came on board he informed me that he had discovered, at the distance of four leagues, an habitation composed of fourteen huts, but that the inhabitants had fled, and he had found only an old woman and some children in their huts. The old woman was of a very dark complexion, with many figures painted on her forehead, and her nostrils bored; but as he could not make himself understood by any word of the Koriac or Tsukcsi language, he could derive no information from her: he found several bows and arrows, with the heads very well made of iron, in the huts, and brought them away, as he knew that they would be acceptable to me, as well as an habit almost complete made of birds' feathers. As he found nothing more which was remarkable, he retired, after leaving several knives and small mirrors in the room of the things he had carried away, which part of his conduct I very strongly approved. This discovery * at last convinced me that I had been sufficiently fortunate to verify the distance between the two capes, concerning which so many conjectures have been made, and of which the Russians have spoken so falsely; for it is not true that any vessel has passed this strait, though the people employed on this voyage went as far as Anadir, where their vessel was cast away in 15 degrees of longitude from Bolsha, and 73 degrees of latitude. They finished their journey by land to Anadir, and thence to Kamchatka, but not by sea as they have published. At three p.m. weighed, and made sail out of the bay of Aladar; our course was south-east, one quarter east, and we were favoured by a strong tide. At daybreak I discovered that we had passed between the continent and an island named Aladar, at the same time that I saw another cape on the main land, which formed a bay—I observed that the middle of this bay lay north. At ten a.m. saw another cape, the extremity of which is distinguished by a mountain in the form of a sugar-loaf.

Sunday, June the 12th. Fine clear weather, and wind as yesterday. At eight p.m. the land being in sight from east to north, sounded, and got ground at twenty-two fathoms; shortened sail, and as the blackness of the horizon indicated

* The Count was mistaken in supposing he ever reached America. See the editor's preface.

the proximity of the land, came to anchor in fourteen fathoms. At daybreak found ourselves at the distance of a league and a half from a headland to the eastward, and another cape lay north one quarter north, distant five leagues; near the entrance of a bay, which strongly tempted me to come to, but the associates insisted that we should make the shortest course to some European establishment, as they represented that they had not entered into any engagement to run over the ocean in search of discoveries; I thought proper, therefore, to satisfy their desires, and abandoning my project, I weighed, and continued to sail along the coast.

Monday, June the 13th. The weather began to change and became squally; handed the top-sails, and continued our course under the lower sails. To conform to the resolution of the company, I kept as near the wind as possible.

Thursday, June the 16th. We were in danger of running aground on an island, which I avoided by little less than a miracle. This was a day of extreme danger, as every sea went over the ship, and the pumps being unable to keep her clear endangered our foundering. In this affliction I saw the loss we should undergo of the rich furs we had on board, which promised to be worth near a million of piastres at China.

Saturday, June the 18th. Variable winds from north to north-east; heavy weather, with an irregular swell. As I had determined to anchor at the island mentioned to me by Mr. Ochotyn, I resolved to stand well to the eastward, upon its parallel of latitude, for fear of missing it. For this reason I sailed on a south-east course. At two p.m., being desirous of inspecting the cargo, I caused the hold to be opened, out of which issued putrid vapours, doubtless from the corruption of the skins. The women and sick, who were shut up below during the storm, were carried upon deck. They at first found themselves faint, but afterwards grew better. In the night the swell became less, and the wind fixed at north-east, one quarter north. The pumps were constantly kept at work without being able to clear the well, and the course of the vessel was greatly impeded. At daybreak saw land from the mast head, right ahead; used every effort to come near it;

about noon we saw it was an island; sounded several times, but got no bottom.

Sunday, June the 19th. At one p.m. the weather being fine, the wind moderate, and very little swell, I handed all the sails, and sent sixteen men, under the command of Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow, on shore in the shallop, to make discoveries, while the ship drove to the southward along shore. All this day was employed in repairing the damages sustained by the late gale of wind. At seven Mr. Kuzneczow returned with two boats, conducted by the islanders, having two Russian strangers at their head. He informed me that the island was named the greater Kadik, and that there was another island to the south-east, which the inhabitants called the island of black foxes. On his landing he was surrounded by the islanders, armed with lances and arrows, who appeared inclined to dispute the passage with him. He called out that if they were of the party of Mr. Ochotyn they should acknowledge his friends; upon which exclamation two Russians came forward for a more particular explanation, and when they were at last convinced that we were really connected with Mr. Ochotyn, from the account Mr. Kuzneczow gave of his stay at Beering's Island, they appeased the natives, who laid down their arms, and came hastily to give marks of their satisfaction. They proposed to conduct Mr. Kuzneczow to their habitations; but his desire of speedily returning prevented his accepting their invitation. Two Russians, therefore, determined to accompany him, and as a proof of their good intentions, they had loaded the boats with different roots and a quantity of beavers and foxes skins.

From this account I gave orders for receiving the islanders, and entertaining them in the best manner in our power; while I lost no time in receiving the friends of Ochotyn. They informed me that their number amounted to twenty-two upon the island, and that the Tajons of the place had submitted to the command of Mr. Ochotyn; by whose orders they were at that time busied in constructing several vessels. They then requested that I would give them some proof of my having had an interview with Mr. Ochotyn. I thought proper to satisfy them by exhibiting his letter to the Tajon of Urumusir;

after perusal of which, having no further mistrust, they offered their services as pilots, to conduct the ship to Urumusir. I accepted their offer with great pleasure, but I represented to them that one would be sufficient. They therefore drew lots, and the chance fell upon Gregoir Salasiow. We put ourselves under his charge till morning, and then having made up a present for the Tajon, which I entrusted to the companion of Salasiow, I distributed knives and looking-glasses to all the islanders on board, and dismissing them we pursued our voyage with our two boats astern.

At nine in the morning we found ourselves at the mouth of a bay, where Salasiow requested leave to go on shore to procure a Bajdara, to pilot us; I consented, and he returned before noon with a boat and men. The agility with which this small boat was managed, and the velocity of its course, though it had no other sail than a small piece of cloth fastened to a stick in the centre of the vessel, astonished me very much.

Monday, June the 20th. Fine warm weather, moderate wind, and no swell: many flights of birds in sight, which Salasiow observing me to notice, informed me that at this season the geese and ducks retired towards Alaksina. From the account he gave me, I was confirmed in my opinion that the land of Alaksina was the main continent of America. He assured me that the distance to the great land did not exceed thirty-five or forty leagues; and that the islanders often made voyages thither, to visit their friends and relations; the Tajon of Kadik being married to one of the daughters of the Tajon of Alaksina Homin. About three o'clock, having the boats ahead conducted by the islanders, we saw an island, which Salasiow affirmed to be the Island of Foxes; and he informed me that there were three others to the southward of that island. About five we saw another island on the starboard; and Salasiow informed me that there were four together, whose position I have marked from his information. The situation of these islands occasioning a very irregular sea, I determined to come to; for which purpose I consulted my pilot, who informed me that the depth of water where we then were was twenty fathoms. In fact we found it eighteen on

sounding. I anchored in the mid-channel, and immediately afterwards Salasiow went on shore in his boat, having first informed me that I might continue my course through the same channel, and that he would rejoin me before I got to the straits.

Tuesday, June the 21st. Wind and weather as yesterday. Continued our course at a good rate. This day Mr. Panow assured me that we were indebted for the good behaviour of the company to our friendship with Mr. Ochotyn, and that he was well assured, that if it had not been for the fear of Mr. Ochotyn, a party of the companions would have run the ship on shore. In fact, the perfect tranquillity of the whole company, though worn out with hard work at the pumps, led me to give credit to Mr. Panow's conjecture; but I was contented to enjoy the advantage of this tranquillity without minutely inquiring into the causes which produced it.

At five, Mr. Salasiow returned with three other vessels, which brought a quantity of dried fish, roots, and one hundred and sixty beaver skins. On his arrival on board, Mr. Salasiow presented me with the provisions and furs in the name of the Tajon of the island, whose son he brought with him, with a request to convey him to the island Urumusir, where he proposed to visit his relations. I consented to this with pleasure, and returned his father an assortment of toys, with a handsome gun, as a present; and after having distributed some trifles among the islanders, I dismissed them. At seven we passed the south-west point of the island, and came in sight of another, right ahead, which Salasiow told me was named Amschud. We doubled the cape, and resumed a direct course at about two o'clock. At six we saw an island on the larboard side, which Salasiow informed me belonged to Urumusir; and that there lay another beyond it, which, in fact, was seen by the men at the masthead. At eleven we observed three other islands on the starboard side, which Salasiow called the Beavers; and we were in full sight of the island Urumusir, at the distance of two leagues. Salasiow undertook to conduct us into the harbour.

Wednesday, June the 22nd. The wind being calm, hoisted out the shallop and small boat, and towed the vessel. At two

o'clock found ourselves at the mouth of a bay, into which we entered, and moored at one cable's length distance from the shore, in four and one-half fathoms water.

As soon as we came to, Salasiow requested to go on shore, to inform the inhabitants and associates of Mr. Ochotyn of our arrival, in order to prevent any disturbance. I sent Mr. Kuzneczow with him, and he returned about three p.m. with two other Russians, who invited me to come on shore, and offered me the use of a commodious lodging, and a storehouse large enough to contain our whole lading. Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that the Russians had promised him every assistance on the part of the islanders; but that I could not see the chief of the island till the following day on account of the distance of his habitation. Before I left the vessel I gave the command to Mr. Csurin, and left with him twenty-eight associates, whom I could most depend upon. All the rest of the company, including the women and the sick, I took on shore with me. When I landed I was taken to a very convenient habitation, near which stood a spacious building fit for a store-house. As soon as I had appointed the lodgings of the sick and the women, I established a camp for my people, and sent immediate orders to unload the vessel. This business was particularly intrusted to Messrs. Panow and Wynbladth, and I was content to have Mr. Kuzneczow and Sibaew with twelve associates near me.

The two Russians who conducted me to my habitation left me for the purpose, as they said, to assemble their associates and the islanders in order to visit me in ceremony.

At eight o'clock Salasiow returned to inform me that the chief of the island was coming to pay me a visit, with the wife of Ochotyn, and a great number of the islanders, and consequently that it would be proper to make some small presents to the principal persons, of whom he named eleven. After he had left me to join his companions, I passed the whole night in superintending the landing of our effects, among which our guns were not the smallest concern. Our assiduity was such that with no other assistance than the shallop and the small boat the ship was unladen by five in the morning, and I had the satisfaction to see the vessel cleared.

At nine in the morning an old man was announced to me, who spoke the Russian language. He was admitted and came in with a boy of twelve years of age, whom he offered me as a present, which I accepted on condition that he would permit me to make him a present in return. His physiognomy convinced me that he was not a Russian, but as he spoke the Russian language very well, I was curious to inquire into this prodigy. There is no doubt but he perceived my embarrassment, for he burst into a laugh, and said, Mr. European, you will be surprised that I call you by that name, but I must inform you that I know more than all the Aleuthes. I was taken by the Cossacks in my youth, who carried me into their own country, where I was conveyed from one town to another till at last I fell into the hands of a merchant who sent me with some Cossacks in search of my country, which we at last found, and the Cossacks sent me on shore that I might invite my countrymen to trade with them. But for my part finding myself restored to my country, I returned no more to the Cossacks, but remained in my own island, where the Tajon having taken an attachment to me, gave me his daughter Kalki in marriage: and as I knew everything, the Aleuthes made me their Tajon after the death of my father-in-law, and I am now the strongest, the most knowing, and the richest Tajon of the Aleuthes. As I am now in years I have given up the government to my son, and content myself with being his friend and adviser. My son need no longer fear the Cossacks, for an European Tajon has married his daughter, and this Tajon is a god. For this reason it is that I laughed, and shall laugh on.

From this last expression, understanding that he spoke of Ochotyn, I informed him that I knew him well, and that he was one of my friends, and had intrusted me with a letter for his father-in-law.

On this assurance the good old man embraced me, called me his son, his dear son, and afterwards begged leave to depart, to carry this news to his family. After the departure of this good man, I gave orders to inspect the chests of furs. We did not find one undamaged. I gave orders, therefore, that they should be exposed to the air to dry, and the good

ones separated from the rest. The women took charge of this business.

Thursday, June the 23rd. On shore at the bay of Urumusir. At one o'clock I was informed of the arrival of the Tajon, escorted by the Russians of Ochotyn's party, and a very considerable number of attendants. The good old man preceded them all, and presented his wife to me, as did likewise the Tajon his children, with the wife of Mr. Ochotyn and some of the chief islanders. After this ceremony, the company formed a circle, in the midst of which the Tajon seated himself with all his family. I then caused the letter of Mr. Ochotyn to be brought, which I put into the hands of the Tajon. Its contents were as follows:

"Health to my father, the Tajon Tuachta, chief of the Aleuthes Islands.

"In the hope that God will conduct my friend to you, I have given him the present letter, to inform you of our union, and to beg that you will give him every assistance he may want.

"I wait the arrival of the vessel to proceed to Kamchatka, whence I hope to return, before the next snow, to embrace my wife, and convince you of my tenderness. All that I shall take from the Cossacks will be for you and your subjects. I recommend likewise, by this present letter, to my companions, to show every submission to my friend who brings this letter, and to obey him as they would myself. I wish all happiness to my father, our family, my associates, and my wife.

"(Signed) OCHOTYN."

BERING'S ISLAND, *May* 24, 1771.

This letter was read by a Russian, and interpreted in a loud voice by the father of the Tajon. The wife of Mr. Ochotyn wept, and her tears convinced me that the people, whom we are in the habit of calling savages, might serve as models to us for friendship and attachment. After the letter was read, one of the Russians advanced and informed me that he was nominated commanding officer on the island during the absence of Mr. Ochotyn; and that in consequence of his orders, he

begged me to dispose of him and forty other associates. I thanked him for his offer, and replied, that if some of them were willing to assist us in our works, I should gratefully acknowledge their services. The Tajon, on his part, requested his father to propose to me to enter into friendship with him. For this purpose he ordered seven vessels made of skin and filled with water to be brought to wash our faces. The Tajon took one, and distributed five others to five other chiefs. The seventh he presented to me. After this ceremony, fire was brought, and every one took a coal, and said, with fire like this we will burn the Cossacks. The oath finished by the distribution of seven arrows, which were broken by the possessors respectively, with the words, "Amongst us arms are useless." The attendants then brought stones, and raised a pile in remembrance of our oath. After which I regaled the Tajons with brandy, and distributed at least two hundred pounds of tobacco among the islanders. I likewise distributed my presents, in return for which Tajon promised me some valuable skins.

At the close of day the islanders retired to an eminence near us, and established their camp. Being informed by the associates of Ochotyn that they were about to make a festival of rejoicing, I determined to go and see them. I accordingly went, and the Tajon, as soon as he saw me, came to meet me, and introduced me into the circle, that I might have a better opportunity of beholding their dance. In reality it was very singular; for at the sound of the drum the whole company became agitated, as if in the highest rage; and the Russians informed me that I should soon see the whole company fall asleep; which was the usual effect of an infusion of muchomor, which the islanders drink on such occasions. This incident did not fail to happen soon after, and the Tajon himself fell asleep among the rest. The old man his father was, however, an exception; he accompanied me home, and I embraced the opportunity of inquiring what reason had induced him to part with the boy he had given me? He replied that when he was last year at Kadik, the Tajon of that island had given him the boy, who was born on the great land of Alexina, where he had doubtless been made prisoner by the Aleuthes, against whom

they had sworn a declared enmity; and that being apprehensive of the consequences on the part of the young man, he had determined to get rid of him the first opportunity.

As I had promised, when I accepted his present, that I would make another in exchange, I gave him a handsome gun, one pound of powder, fifty balls, and five pounds of tobacco, with a bottle of brandy. Having thus satisfied him we parted, and I went to rest. Mr. Kuzneczow undertook to keep watch. When I arose, I learned that twenty-two associates of Mr. Ochotyn's party had undertaken to assist in repairing the ship; and two of them being coopers, were employed in setting up our casks, which we were in great want of for water, as the heat of the climate to which we were going would prevent our availing ourselves of the fresh water from the ice islands, as we had hitherto done.

Friday, June the 24th. I made an excursion, accompanied by Mr. Kuzneczow, towards the eastern part of the island. I passed over the beautiful plains, which are certainly susceptible of good cultivation, but I discovered no vestige which rendered it probable that these islanders cultivate the earth. Their food entirely consists in certain roots, fish, and the flesh of beavers and sea cows. The wood which grows on this island is good, and proper for every kind of building.

The habitations of the islanders, several of which we saw and visited, perfectedly resembled the balagans * of the Kamchadals. After I returned from this excursion, I determined, from the small prospect of meeting with anything worthy of notice, to make no more, but double my attention to get the vessel ready for departure.

According to the report six sick. Saturday, June the 25th. Mr. Csurin informed me that the vessel was ready to receive her cargo. I therefore gave orders to this effect to Mr. Crustiew. The associates of Mr. Ochotyn were of great assistance to us in this business.

About two o'clock the father of the Tajon came with a pre-

* "The houses of these islanders are huts built precisely in the manner of those in Kamchatka, with the entry through a hole in the middle of the roof"—so states Captain Krenitzin of the *St. Katharine*, with whom Csurin, Benyowsky's captain, had sailed.

sent of sixty skins, and a canoe made of skin; the lightness of which surprised me, for two men could easily carry it, though it had eight oars. The keel only was made of wood, and the rest was whalebone, covered with the skins of sea wolves, with the hair outwards, sewed together with twine made of the guts of beavers. At five o'clock the Tajon likewise arrived with presents, and I regaled him and his company with brandy. When he was informed of my approaching departure, he requested a letter for Mr. Ochotyn, and I delivered him one to the following purport:

"HONOURABLE FRIEND,—After a painful and disagreeable navigation, in which I was compelled, by the obstinacy of my companions, to sail as far to the northward as 66 degrees, I have at last returned to the south, and have taken advantage of the winds to visit your island. I have received much advantage from the services of Salasiow, one of your associates, whom I particularly recommend to you. On my arrival, your friends and companions have given me every assistance to put my vessel into proper repair for a long voyage; and the islanders, from their example, have behaved with the utmost cordiality to us. The Tajon Tuachta, more especially, has been most friendly and attentive. I could have wished that the presents I have distributed among the islanders had been of greater value: but alas! you know that Kamchatka is not a place from which any one escapes overloaded with riches besides which, all my possessions consisted in furs, which are plentiful among the islanders. During the time of my stay, I have observed, with satisfaction, that the islanders are sincerely attached to you. I therefore recommend to you to avail yourself, as much as possible, of their affection; and for that purpose I would advise you always to have a trusty party of these people near you; for among the Russians who are with you there will be some who will show the disposition of the country. To place yourself out of danger of plots, you must keep your people in constant employment: and I take this occasion once more to repeat, that if I were situated as you are, with two or three vessels suitable to the undertaking, I would retire to the southward, where, doubtless, you will find

islands, and the climate will second your attempts to establish a flourishing colony. The knowledge you have of the commerce of China, and the constant resource which you might have to your friends in the Aleuthes Islands for furs, to supply this trade, could not fail to put it in your power to make an establishment of the first importance. Adieu, my friend, I wish you every prosperity, and you may depend upon my best exertions to cause some European power to accept your proposals. (Signed) MAURICE AUGUSTUS."

After communicating this letter to the Tajon, I took my leave, being resolved to embark the following day. At eight in the morning, I gave orders for every one to go on board; and after making presents to Salasiow, and the other associates, I likewise went on board with the sick and the women, where I found everything in proper order. According to the report, two sick; the vessel drawing seven feet eight inches water.

Sunday, June the 26th. Fine, clear, warm weather, and calm. At three o'clock weighed anchor, towed out the vessel, and came to in the mid channel. The associates celebrated a festival on the occasion of baptizing the young American on board, who was named Sacharie.

Monday, June the 27th. At sea; fine, temperate weather; wind north-east, rather fresh; course south-west, one quarter south, with all sails set; the three islands in sight till four p.m., and the south-west point in sight till nine; clear, starry weather in the night. At ten in the morning saw land from the mast-head, which, the wind being favourable, we approached within two leagues distance.

Tuesday, June the 28th. Altered our course to south, one quarter east, to avoid the breakers in sight near the shore. At seven p.m. the wind freshened from north-east to east, and the sea arose very irregularly, which caused the vessel to labour. At eight, the southern extremity of the island being in sight, being north, one quarter west, we resumed our course, as I was desirous of reconnoitring these islands, which had been described to me as situated in the 48th degree of north latitude.

Wednesday, June the 29th. Strong gales of wind throughout; at three passed a cape of the island Cusma; about five the horizon became clouded, and at six we had a shower, which did not last long. The wind returned to the north-east with such violence as carried away the fore and mizen topmasts. The cargo shifted with the shock, and six butts of water were staved. I was chagrined at this loss, more particularly because I was convinced that our casks would not hold tight in a hot climate.

As I was desirous of taking every precaution to secure us against the inconvenience of the want of water, I gave orders for the regular distribution of an allowance. But Mr. Stephanow came and represented to me, in the name of the company, that the allowance of biscuit and water I had set was not enough, and that they required twice as much, as well as an allowance of brandy, which they were in need of to keep up their spirits. This proceeding of Mr. Stephanow irritated me to such a degree that I threatened to throw him overboard if he continued his cabal. I recollected myself, however, and was desirous of convincing him of the absurdity of his conduct. But he paid no attention to me, and left the cabin with the grossest invectives, without doubt with the intention of carrying his plot into execution. To prevent this I assembled the chiefs of the company in order to consult what was best to be done, for I was well convinced, from my knowledge of the individuals who composed Stephanow's party, that they were disposed to proceed to more serious consequences. We had scarcely met before we received information that Stephanow had encouraged a party of the associates to broach a barrel of water to quench their thirst; and, with a view to persuade them more effectually, he had declared that we were near the land, as he was certainly assured by my own observations and the charts I had composed from the information of Mr. Ochotyn, &c. He told them that he knew very well the reason why I had determined not to anchor at this land, and promised to tell the reason in secret another time, but that it was highly necessary at this moment to compel me to obey their orders. This report determined us to go upon deck to advise the associates to return to their duty, but we found them all armed, with Mr.

Stephanow at their head, who spared no imprecation against me, and declared that as the company had elected him chief he would preserve my life merely for the purpose of increasing my sufferings. He then ordered his people to seize me, but, luckily for me, Mr. Kuzneczow thought of awakening the associates who were asleep in their hammocks. These came up the fore-scuttle, to the number of nine, all armed, and prevented them from proceeding to violence. Being thus confined to the forecastle we were spectators of the greatest disorders, which Mr. Stephanow himself could not remedy, for the associates of his party having entered the cabin brought up three casks of brandy, and while this kind of provision lasted it was partly drank by them and partly thrown about the deck. In the midst of this debauch the actors were interrupted by the night, and being all drunk, without knowing what they did or paying the least attention to the remonstrances of Mr. Stephanow, they went down to rest. Seeing himself thus destitute of all support, the unhappy wretch followed them, to represent the dangers they exposed themselves to by suffering me to resume the authority.

We took advantage of their confusion to shut the main hatchway; and while I went to visit my cabin, Mr. Panow, with two associates, Sibaew and Loginow, seized Stephanow, whom they put in irons, and fastened to the mizen-mast.

At one in the morning Mr. Winbladth informed me that the revolters, heated by the great quantity of brandy they had drank, and desirous of water, and at the same time not knowing what they did, had staved fourteen casks of water, which was entirely lost, and there remained no more than two casks and an half in all.

Such were the consequences of the rage which Stephanow had excited. My friends advised me to seize the criminals and put them all in irons. But I was too much affected with the prospect of our approaching misery to think of adding to our present and future unhappy reflections by an open dissention.

At five o'clock, having taken the precaution to seize the arms of all who had followed the party of Stephanow, I

mustered the whole company on deck, where I exposed to them the conduct of Stephanow, and represented in strong terms the sufferings to which we were now exposed without the possibility of a remedy. The unhappy men who had perpetrated the crime of losing our water were entirely ignorant of the circumstance when informed of it. Their despair then burst forth in accusations of Stephanow as the author of all that they had done. With one voice they demanded his death; they insisted on sacrificing such a monster, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that I prevailed on them to spare his life. But as it was necessary to show him that I had power to punish crimes, I proposed that he should be declared unworthy of the society, and condemned him to serve as assistant to the cook. The same sentence was passed upon the Sieur Sudekin, secretary at Kamchatka, whom I had brought away prisoner, and who had since attached himself to Stephanow. Stephanow was then brought to the main-mast to hear his sentence, and as he supposed I should condemn him to death, he was mean enough to implore my compassion, and still meaner after he had heard his sentence read. He thanked me for the pity I had shown on this occasion. Mr. Panow, enraged at his pusillanimity, would have shot him through the head if I had not prevented him.

Friday, July the 1st, 1771. The wind drawing round to the westward, and increasing with rain. Saw a large quantity of floating weed, and the colour of the water appearing changed, sounded several times, but got no bottom. The company employed in collecting rain water, of which we obtained two casks. This supply was very acceptable; but as the water tasted of tar, the associates engaged to drink no other, in order to preserve the rest of our stock for myself, the sick, and our female companions. Mr. Kuzneczow informed me of this resolution. At the close of the evening it fell calm, but at two a.m. the wind rose, and blew fresh from north-west, one quarter west. At six M. le Surin informed me that there still remained four casks of water, which were covered with the planks that formed the cabin of his lady. This account was very agreeable, but I ordered him not to

communicate his discovery to his associates. This day we replaced the fore and mizen topmasts.

Saturday, July the 2nd. Close, cloudy weather. At one p.m. a squall came on, with abundance of rain, after which the wind slackened, and at three it became calm, but the rippling of the sea gave me reason to apprehend that we were in a strong current. At five o'clock the sea was so agitated that the vessel rolled very much, and it was not without some apprehension that I saw the main and mizen yards touch the surface of the water. At seven the weather became squally from the north-west quarter, from whence we had a strong gale. I had already taken in all the reefs; the course of the vessel through the water made a considerable noise, occasioned by a current contrary to its direction, and to which no doubt we were indebted for our preservation, for in the obscurity of the night we should not have been otherwise able to have avoided running ashore. The break of day rendered our danger evident, as we saw breakers at the distance of three-quarters of a league. I immediately sounded, and got ground at thirty-six fathoms, the bottom consisting of mud and broken shells. At nine a.m. we approached the shore, and anchored in twenty-eight fathoms, after which I immediately sent the small boat on shore with Mr. Kuzneczow, to examine the coast, in order to discover some port or harbour. The strength of the wind, however, parted our cable and drove us out; I therefore fired several guns for the boat, as I had little hope of reaching the coast with so impetuous a wind. The fear of losing our boat and people obliged me to lay to, but the current carrying us rapidly towards the shore, I occasionally set the mizen. This manœuvre fatigued the vessel greatly, and was frequently attended with evident danger of destruction.

Sunday, July the 3rd. A very heavy gale from north-west to west; ship laying to and firing minute guns to recall the boat. At four p.m. we clued up the mizen, and the vessel meeting the swell shipped a considerable quantity of water, and it was with some difficulty that she was righted. The associates at the close of day being apprehensive of being exposed to a repetition of the same danger, insisted that I

l either continue my course or run the vessel aground on l bank which they had observed. I represented to them t would be an act of the utmost barbarity to abandon f our most faithful companions upon an unknown land mercy of the savages, and that, therefore, I was deter- l rather to perish than quit the shore, as I would not nt to bear the reproach of having abandoned any of my anions. I told them that I was ashamed of their want licacy in making such a proposal as that of deserting companions, and that with regard to their second request s impossible to carry it into execution, because the wind, g veered round to the eastward, did not permit us to the shore at any particular spot, and the only means of nplishing this consisted in abandoning the vessel to the nt, which might probably throw us on the reef. For reasons I informed them that I was firmly resolved to nt to no part of their proposal. This determined answer ed them, and several of them threatened me; among Baylakin cried out that he would soon put an end to the te, and snatching a knife out of the hands of one that by he ran towards me. I prevented his purpose by a pistol, which fortunately disabled, without killing him. this several of the associates prepared to enter into a st by main force; but the sight of Messrs. Panow, iew, Baturin, Wynbladth, and several others, armed pistols and ready to obey my commands, checked their uosity. At length the night closed in without sight of mpanions, for this reason I kept two fires on board and cannon at regular intervals. About eight the watch out that he heard shouting. We all ran to verify the and had the great satisfaction to behold several flashes mall distance from us. Their short duration convinced at it was our companions, who fired their muskets, in n circumstance we were not deceived. At a quarter eight they came on board on the larboard side, not ut some risk of staving the boat. Their happy return unded the mutineers, who durst not show their faces.

. Kuzneczow gave me an account of the difficulties and e attending his return; and, indeed, it was a miracle

that the boat had been able to resist the forces of the sea. His report was that an hour after he left the vessel he arrived near the shore, but finding it impossible to go on shore he was obliged to row round a headland which, sheltering him from the wind, presented a favourable place of landing in an harbour, where he found several boats at anchor and a very large two-masted vessel; that when he came on shore he saw inhabitants clothed in the Chinese manner, in blue, with parasols. He accosted them without hesitation, having left his six associates in the boat. The islanders invited him to go further up the country, which he should have complied with if he had not heard the signal for his return. At this signal he did everything in his power, by signs and gestures, to convince the islanders that he was obliged to return. They showed no desire to retain him, but all which he could understand amounted to a wish on their part to explain to him that the weather was very unfavourable to go out to sea, and that he ought to stay on shore and return the next day in the morning. But that when they perceived he was determined to depart, one among the islanders laid his hand upon his breast (a sign of friendship, as he understood), and then presented him with his parasol, and a pipe, with a little bag containing tobacco; that he himself, in return, having nothing about him to present to the islander, had given him his sabre, mounted with silver, and that the islander, charmed with his behaviour, had given him a knife. With respect to the country he informed me that he had seen a number of hogs, but no black cattle, and that the huts or small houses built near the shore were regularly placed and perfectly shaded by rows of trees, and the coast appeared well wooded.

This report, which was heard by all the company, excited a desire to go on shore, and they entreated me to use every exertion to continue in its neighbourhood. I was no less interested than themselves, and therefore determined to keep near the shore; but all our hopes vanished when we found the wind fix at the west with redoubled force. I endeavoured to keep my position till two a.m., but then being no longer able to lay to, I set sail under the fore-staysail, and departed at the rate of eight or nine knots an hour.

Monday, July the 4th. A hard gale, with occasional showers, which gave me some hope of its slackening; but unfortunately it continued with the utmost violence, and deprived me of every hope of regaining the coast we had quitted; I therefore hauled wind, and held on my course. This day I examined the parasol which was brought by Mr. Kuzneczow. It was made of paper, soaked with oil, and painted with several Chinese and Japanese characters. The pipe was of a compound metal, of a white colour; and the purse, containing the tobacco, was embroidered satin. The knife was perfectly well tempered, and the handle was ivory, well finished. These circumstances convinced me that the islanders traded with the Japanese.

Tuesday, July the 5th. Hot weather, and the wind veering round to the southward. This day was employed in setting up our rigging, which the hot weather had slackened. I likewise changed our sails, which were so rent and worn that their effect was considerably diminished. I distributed the old sails among the company to make trousers.

This day a council was held to determine whether we ought to sail for Japan; for as I had no positive knowledge of any island, I thought it proper to take this course to avoid the sufferings which threatened us for the want of provisions and water. Our provisions consisted of six casks of salt fish, and two casks of dried fish; but the dried fish began to putrify by the heat, and convinced me that we could not use it much longer. All our biscuit was consumed, and our whole resource consisted in these two casks of dried fish, with two casks of rain water, and four casks of sweet water. I could not, therefore, depend on more than six or eight days' provision, and fourteen days' drink. The council determined to hold our course towards Japan, but to put in at any island we might come in sight of. This resolution was communicated to the whole company, who were very submissive and consented to the decision from the fear of hunger. M. Meder, having inspected our provision of salt fish, assured me that in one or two days I should be obliged to throw the whole overboard; and in order to turn it to the best advantage, he advised me to boil the salted fish to the consistence of a paste, and after-

wards dry the paste into the form of bread, which might serve us in case of extreme need. I very much approved of this advice, and gave him charge to carry it into execution. The night was clear and starry; at six a.m. the wind became variable, and at ten it fixed at north-west. This day we prepared lines for catching fish, several of which we had seen.

Wednesday, July the 6th. Close cloudy weather to the north-west, but the rain having abated the force of the wind and the swell of the sea, we set all our sails, and directed our course to the westward. This day we saw a quantity of floating seaweed and several birds, which directed their flight to the north-west. The fishermen took no more than two middling-sized fish, weighing together about three pounds. At sunset we heard thunder for the first time; the ship's company thereupon entreated me to permit them to be bled, as, without that precaution, they apprehended bad consequences from the heat, which they had already began to feel. I consented to their request with so much the more willingness, as the precaution could not be hurtful to their health. The night was dark, without any appearance of the moon; but the vessel making great way, gave us spirits. At daybreak the quartermaster called out land. I went on deck, and likewise mistook some low clouds for land; but sunrise dissipated the charm. In the morning Mr. Meder bled fifteen of the associates.

Thursday, July the 7th. Very fine weather and smooth water. The heat of the sun was such, that it melted the pitch off the sides of the vessel. I gave orders to pay it afresh, and to wet the decks and sides every morning at sunrise. The heat of the sun being very troublesome, I cut up a sail to make an awning. This day we fitted out the shallop, and the company was employed in cleaning their arms and making small cordage: the night was very fine. At nine a.m. we saw something floating on the water, and immediately lowered the boat and rowed towards it. The boat's crew, on their return, brought another boat, very much damaged, and overset. When we had got it on board, I observed that it was a small fishing boat, for I found some lines, made of twisted silk, still fastened to it. The company, after examining the

boat, undertook to repair it, to serve in case of need. This day fifteen other associates were bled.

Friday, July the 8th. The wind gradually increasing, with fine weather, and the sun shining strong. This day we made a trial of the fish-bread; we found it harsh, sour, and very salt, but necessity obliged us to eat it. At sunset, saw a great number of porpoises, but could catch none. The night was fine and clear throughout. At daybreak four of the associates presented themselves, in the name of the company, to ask forgiveness in favour of Mr. Stephanow; and as I was assured of their fidelity to me, I promised to comply with their request, with so much more satisfaction, as I desired nothing more ardently than to convince the company how much I was devoted to their wishes. After their departure I assembled a committee of the principal associates, to whom I declared my intention to receive Mr. Stephanow again into our society. They all consented to my resolution except Mr. Panow, who declared that I should have more than one occasion hereafter to complain of this infamous man, for whom, as a relation, he had so much cause to blush. This day Mr. Meder bled twenty of the associates.

Saturday, July the 9th. Pursuant to my resolution, I caused Mr. Stephanow to be called, and acquainted him that he was forgiven and received into our society; at the same time that I exhorted him to desist, at length, from his enmity to me, and represented to him that he ought not to doubt the sincerity with which I offered my friendship, as it was entirely in my power to clear myself of him. He appeared extremely satisfied, and promised, on his faith and honour, to conduct himself with more delicacy in future: he spared no oaths to confirm his repentance; and, as a final confirmation, he entreated me to assemble the whole company, before whom he was desirous of publicly acknowledging his fault and demanding pardon. And though I excused myself by observing that I neither could nor ought to permit such a proceeding on his part; yet he persisted, and entreated those present to second his proposal; assuring them that he should not enjoy any peace until he had convinced the whole company that his heart and his words agreed. As I saw it was not in my power

to change his resolution, I begged Mr. Crustiew to comply with Mr. Stephanow's demand.

After the departure of Mr. Crustiew with the penitent, I expressed my joy to Mr. Panow, to see his relation at length recalled to reason; but this gallant man assured me that I should find myself deceived in my hopes, as he knew him too well to hope for amendment. He added, that he believed him at that moment to be truly disposed to keep his engagement, but that he would lay any wager that, before eight days were expired, he would give new proofs of the wickedness of his disposition; for which reason he strongly urged me never to place any confidence in such a wretch.

At five p.m. word was brought that the hoops of one of the water casks had given way, and the water was entirely run out, and that another cask was two-thirds empty; so that no more than three casks and some pots of water remained, with about nine hundred pounds of fish dried, or in the form of bread. In a state of extreme anxiety, and extenuated by continual fatigue, I passed a cruel night; and as it was necessary to conceal my uneasiness from the associates, this restraint overcame me to such a degree that I was several times during the night ready to faint. There was no reason to hope for rain or dew, as the season unfortunately was dry; and I had no knowledge of the position of the neighbouring lands, upon which I could place any well-grounded expectation. At daybreak I assembled the whole company, to give them an account of our situation, and to propose that they should be put to the allowance of half a pound of fish, and half a bottle of water a day; and in order to convince them of the truth of what I asserted, I caused the provision of fish to be brought upon deck, where, instead of nine hundred pounds, we unfortunately found only four hundred and sixty pounds; and upon examination the water proved to be much less than three casks. This situation reduced them to despair, for they assured me that it would be impossible to support life on such an allowance of such food as the fish, which likewise produced extreme thirst. The representations were but too true, as I knew by my own experience; and to prevent every dispute concerning the distribution, I divided our provision among all

the associates, and every one received his part, consisting of about four pounds and three-quarters; and I reserved the biscuit, though damaged, for the use of the women. Several of the associates received their provisions, weeping bitterly; and others cursed those who had led them to the revolution at Kamchatka. Such was the scene which now presented itself before my eyes.

Monday, July the 11th. A strong gale, and cloudy, with continual thunder and lightning. Prudence required us to lay to, but our situation did not admit of it; for this reason I encouraged the associates to continue the service, but unfortunately they were all so disheartened that I despaired of keeping the ship by the wind. A dreadful night succeeded this day, with every horrid circumstance that can be imagined at sea; the fore and mizen topsails were at once blown from the yards, and the noise of the torn sails increased the fears of the company. The wind increased by sudden gusts, which threatened to dismast us entirely; and as none of the associates would go aloft, it was impossible to hand the topsails. At three a.m. the mizen mast was split by the lightning, but it did not take fire. The deck was constantly filled with water; and if the wind had changed with that rapidity which I have so often experienced in my navigation, we had been lost without resource; happily, however, it continued in the same quarter.

Tuesday, July the 12th. Messrs. Crustiew and Panow represented to me that several of the associates, having consumed their provisions, were in danger of perishing by hunger if I did not find some expedient. They had already broke forth in exclamations of despair: being therefore obliged to apply my thoughts to the invention of an expedient, I fell upon that of boiling some skins of beavers, and seasoning them with whale oil. I communicated this idea to my friends, who received it with gratitude. To make a trial, I gave orders to scald and clean a skin, and then boil it. At six p.m. it was entirely prepared; and when I found that this ragout was capable of preserving us from dying with hunger, I immediately distributed it to the associates. The eagerness with which they set about preparing their meal made them forget the

danger we were in from the impetuosity of the wind, and it was not possible to employ them in any other service on board; so that the whole care of the vessel fell upon me and the officers. Throughout the night the wind continued with unabated violence, and the swell of the sea began to threaten us with the last extreme of danger; when all at once, about four a.m., its force slackened, and I was not a little surprised to perceive that the sea became smooth almost immediately. This circumstance indicated the vicinity of land, but in what direction to seek it was a thing impossible to be determined. At daybreak my companions thanked me for having employed my thoughts in procuring them some nourishment; and as there was no other provision on board, I caused some skins to be dressed for the sick. Mr. Meder informed me that several of the associates had washed their shoes and half boots, and that at the instant he was speaking there were more than twenty pair in the pot. In fact, this report was confirmed; and I could only groan at the scene of misery, which, in the space of twenty-four hours, could not but be greatly increased by the want of water.

Wednesday, July the 13th. The weather clearing up gradually, with some intervals of sunshine, I gave orders to open the hatches to air the vessel; after which we cleared the wreck of the mizen mast, and bent another mizen staysail, which had been carried away. To replace the mizen mast, I made use of a main topmast, which I had taken in exchange at Kamchatka; and, notwithstanding our weakness, we succeeded in getting it stepped before dark. During the time we were employed in this work, the women were busied in unpacking the skins. They consisted of 782 beavers, 268 foxes, and 1,900 sables, all which were distributed to the company. At daybreak we discovered a great quantity of floating weeds, and saw birds which resembled eagles. This sight renewed in my mind that glimpse of hope which alone enables us to surmount obstacles that appear invincible. About noon we observed the clouds become black to the southward, and we waited with impatience for a squall to supply us with some provision of water. Our expectation, however, was deceived, for the wind remained steady.

Thursday, July the 14th. Clear hot weather; a strong and steady breeze, with a following swell. Mr. Meder informed me that there were no more than fifty pints of water on board, and that he thought it proper to keep at least half for the sick. I gave him orders accordingly to reserve half, and the rest was distributed among the associates at daybreak. For my own part, having no longer any expectation of means to remedy the want of water, I resigned myself to that fate which overwhelmed me by such dreadful trials, and being no longer able to find any ground for hope I passed the night in respiring the cool air. The break of day at last appeared, and the freshness of the morning revived me a little. At seven I assisted in the distribution of the water. My companions received it with avidity, and several among them drank it off at the instant; others, more careful, were attentive in preserving it. After the distribution, as I concluded it to be impossible that I should much longer support life, and finding myself oppressed with weakness, occasioned by hunger, I presented my chart to the company, and pointed out to them that we were still 240, or perhaps 300 leagues from the coast of Japan; that I had no knowledge of any island near us, and that consequently six or seven days would be required to reach it, even with a favourable wind, of which there was no probable appearance; and as I did not apprehend that I could support life for such a length of time in our present circumstances, I thought it proper to point out to them the course they might hold, in case they should be so happy as to survive. This natural confidence with which I opened my sentiments to them, affected them strongly, and it was not without the most forcible emotions that I beheld them all eager to offer me a part of their lots. On this occasion Sudiakow declared that he still had three salt fish in his chest, which he offered me, as well as a pitcher of water, which he had saved out of his own allowance. This noble action was universally applauded, and he received the surname of Generous, which the company gave him. Being forced to accept this assistance, I consented, on condition of his sharing it with me. When I took the meridian altitude, the company requested me to direct my course to Japan.

Friday, July the 15th. Fine weather, with the sun shining

strongly; a current setting to the westward. Saw a number of birds, among which we supposed some to be land birds, which gave new hopes to the company. Several on board having drank the sea water were seized with a violent vomiting. Mr. Meder attempted to correct the sea water by infusing tea in it; but this precaution did not deprive it of its bitterness. I made a trial of it myself.

At sunset two of the company from the mast-head cried out land. Every one immediately hurried aloft; but the sun being set they could see nothing. The men who thought they saw the land informed me that it lay a little to the southward of west, I therefore set all the sails and ordered a strong night watch; but having sailed from the time they thought they saw the land till four in the morning, over a space of twenty-four leagues and three-quarters, they were convinced that they had taken the clouds for the land. At five a.m. nothing was seen from the masthead but very thick clouds before us. At this time my dog, Nestor, stood on the forecastle continually barking and snuffing up the air. Mr. Meder observing this circumstance ran to me and assured me that he no longer doubted of the vicinity of the land, as he knew it to be usual for dogs to smell it. Mr. Kuzneczow himself went to the top mast-head, swearing that he would not come down until he saw the land. At eight he called out land, but a moment after cried that he had mistaken clouds for the land. At nine, Saccharie, my American, looking out ahead with the rest, called out, "Alaksina, Alaksina," and pulled me towards the forecastle, saying in Russian, of which he had learnt some few words, "Come along." When I came on the forecastle he showed me the place with his finger, continually repeating "Alaksina," though none of us could discover anything. I called out to Mr. Kuzneczow, informing him that the American saw land, but Kuzneczow replied that he saw nothing. I therefore sent Saccharie to the masthead to show him the place, and sent up my telescope. At half-past nine Mr. Kuzneczow at last called out land. On his assurance I went up myself, and had the pleasure to see at last the prospect of our sufferings being mitigated. At eleven, the land being evident before us, I sounded, and got ground in twenty-

eight fathoms; and after sailing within a quarter of a league of the coast we anchored in fourteen fathoms.

Saturday, July the 16th. At anchor near an island at one quarter of a league distance in eighteen fathom water. Wind from north to north-north-west. At two p.m. sent Mr. Panow and Kuzneczow ashore with twelve associates in the canoe to examine the coast, and endeavour to find some harbour in which he might moor in safety. I sent several casks likewise that they might bring some water. At nine we saw three fires on shore which were the signal of the discovery of an harbour, but the fires appeared to us to be two leagues distant to the north-west of our anchorage. At eleven the boat returned with four men and some water, which was eagerly consumed. Sibaew informed me that Kuznéczow had discovered a very commodious bay on the northern side of the island, into which fell a rivulet of fresh water, and that he begged I would send back the boat that he might return at daybreak and conduct the vessel to her moorings. This happy news was very comfortable to every one on board, but the continuation of his narrative was still more satisfactory when he assured me that there was a quantity of hogs and goats on the island. At this recital every one was desirous of going on shore, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I could retain a few of them on board to work the ship. The associates, attending only to their own wants, seized the shallop and departed to the number of forty-nine. After the departure of the shallop I sent the small boat likewise, armed with six men, to obey the orders of Mr. Kuzneczow.

At a quarter past five, a.m. weighed, and made sail under the topsails. At six saw the small boat out at sea, and continued my course along the coast, north-west, one quarter north; the prospect on shore was very agreeable. At eight it became calm, and I was obliged to anchor again in twelve fathoms. At the same time I gave orders to Mr. Kuzneczow to go in search of the shallop that they might return and tow the vessel in. At half-past nine the shallop and canoe arrived and I entered the bay, in which I moored in six fathom water, and at the distance of sixty fathoms from the shore.

Sunday, July the 17th. Sent the sick and the women on shore, leaving only four men and two officers on board as a guard. Employed this day in cutting wood and erecting huts and tents as well as a storehouse to land our whole cargo. Mr. Wynbladth undertook to raise a battery, in which he placed two three-pounders. The associates who had gone on shore the day before brought several pieces of game for the sick, and a goat; others brought different fruits and plants of a delicious taste. I forbid them, however, to eat them raw, but when boiled or roasted they proved very good and wholesome. The abundance of water and plenty of provisions soon made the company forget their past sufferings, and their conversation ran entirely on the happy and comfortable situation before them. For my part I rejoiced at the event which had delivered me from the horrors of a cruel death, and the reproaches of my companions.

The night was fine, but the beauty of the sky did not prevent me from employing the whole in sleep, for my frame, exhausted with fatigue and watching, had need of rest. At daybreak I assembled the whole company to appoint the different services. Some received orders to guard the vessel, others were employed in the fishery, in the chase, or in setting up the water butts, repairing the sails, &c. After this distribution of their labours I declared my intention that, as soon as we had made up our provisions, I would set sail for Manilla, on the Phillipine Islands, from whence we might most easily return into Europe. My declaration was received with great coolness, and the company replied that they had need of repose in the first place, and afterwards they would consider what steps were the best to be taken.

Monday, July the 18th. On shore on the island of Liquor;* a name which my companions gave to this island, on account of the excellent water they found here. At two p.m. Loginow, who had been sent to discover the interior part of the island with four associates, returned, and brought pine-

* The name given to the Batan or Bashee Islands by Dampier was from the name of an intoxicating liquor much used by the natives. This may have suggested the name of Liquor, given to this apocryphal island by Benyowsky.

apples and bananas in great quantities, with several bundles of wood, with which, he assured me, the island abounded. But that which excited the greatest astonishment was some pieces of rock crystals, and stones, containing metallic particles, which were very heavy, and shone like gold. The sight of the crystal inflamed the imagination of my associates: they began to reason upon the circumstances, and concluded that as the surface of the earth produced crystal, it doubtless contained diamonds at a greater depth. The mineral they had found could be nothing, in their opinion, but gold. It was to no purpose that I represented that appearances were often fallacious; that rock crystal would not change into diamonds; and that the pretended ore of gold might be nothing more than marcarsite.* My representations were not attended to; the illusion had taken too strong hold of their minds to be dissipated in as short a time as it was formed; and the vivacity with which the associates had made their resolutions gave me reason to apprehend serious consequences. Five of them presented themselves to declare that the associates, being worn out with the fatigue and sufferings they had experienced during their voyage, had determined to fix their abode upon the island for some months; and that with so much the greater readiness, as they found sufficient abundance of provisions; and that during this whole time they meant to employ themselves in digging into the earth, to collect a quantity of ore, and to blow up the rocks, with a view of coming at the basis of the crystal, that they might collect a quantity of gold and diamonds, which would be useful to them on their return to Europe. They accompanied this declaration with oaths that they were determined not to change their resolution, and they demanded that I would give them my promise to conform to their will; but as I did not think proper to give my word immediately, I dismissed them with a promise that I would consider of their propositions and give them my final answer the next morning.

After their departure I assembled my friends to deliberate upon the steps proper to be taken. They advised me to submit to the pleasure of the company, as the law of the strongest; and

* Marcasite—iron pyrites.

represented to me that the associates, being on shore, would listen to no reason: and as I was well acquainted with their obstinacy, I had every reason to expect they would come to extremities. Their advice gave me no consolation, for, by yielding to the will of the company I had nothing to expect but intrigues and cabals, the issue of which might be of fatal consequences to my party. I therefore passed the night in contriving projects to bring them to their senses.

At daybreak I found my tent surrounded with the associates, who demanded my resolution. My friends kept at a distance, to assist me in case of need. In this situation I thought it best to represent to them that I had determined to have the ore examined, to be convinced whether it contained gold or not, for I thought it would be very absurd to give ourselves the trouble of collecting stones without deriving any advantage from them. I therefore requested my companions to nominate two amongst themselves, who understood metallurgy, to make the assay, and at the same time declared to them that in case the ore turned out productive, I would immediately determine to remain upon the island as long as they thought proper, but that the discovery of the crystal would avail us nothing, as I was well assured that crystal was never found in diamond mines. The associates were so firmly persuaded that the ore could be nothing else but gold, that they were satisfied with my answer, and deputed Andreanow and Ribnikow, two goldsmiths, to make the assay. It was with the greatest satisfaction that I gained so far on the minds of such a number of headstrong people. My friends complimented me upon my success, and Mr. Panow assured me that he would do everything in his power to destroy the cabal, which he supposed to be the work of Mr. Stephanow.

Tuesday, July the 19th. Fine, calm weather, but excessively hot. This day a large quantity of fish was brought, half of which I caused to be dried for our provision, and the other half was distributed among the company. Mr. Baturin informing me that our stock of salt was considerably diminished, proposed to make a boiling; I gave him three Kamchadales to assist him. About two I made an excursion into the country in company with Mr. Panow and Mr. Wyn-

bladth; we found it very agreeable, and abounding with cocoa-nuts, orange and banana trees, with a certain fruit which resembled pears, but as they were too acid we did not eat them. On one of the small hills we found several pieces of crystal and of cinnabar, but the most agreeable discovery we made consisted in the sight of about fifty hogs. We followed them with a view of killing some, when the young pilot, Potossiow, came to inform me that Mr. Stephanow had assembled a party of the associates, to whom he had spoken with emphasis, and that they had all retired into the wood to make an oath. Upon this information we returned toward our camp, where we arrived at the beginning of the night, which was one of the most beautiful I ever beheld: the sky was without a cloud, and the stars shone with a brilliancy and lustre that was delightful to behold. I first directed my steps towards the tent of Mr. Crustiew, who was surprised to hear the relation of my discovery, and assured me that throughout the whole day he had not quitted Stephanow, except for half an hour, which seemed to him too short a time to form a confederacy; but Mr. Panow assured me that Mr. Stephanow was capable of anything, and that he believed him to be guilty. The former behaviour of the man led me to adopt the opinion of Mr. Panow, and I thought proper to take measures to prevent a plot. With this intention I assembled those friends to whom I could speak with confidence; their number amounted to thirty-six persons. I immediately detached six on board to relieve those in the vessel; twelve others were disposed to guard our small pieces on shore, and the rest remained under arms to keep a regular guard without affording any cause of suspicion. Things being thus disposed I waited for daybreak. At seven in the morning the hunters were the first who presented themselves to inform me that they had been unsuccessful and had seen nothing, though I was well assured that they had been with Stephanow instead of following the chase. I concealed my displeasure, but could hold no longer when I heard that all those whom I had appointed to repair our casks and sails had refused to continue their work. I therefore gave orders for a general meeting to be held at noon.

Wednesday, July the 20th. Weather as yesterday. The company being assembled, I explained our situation in strong terms, and the pains which I had constantly taken to satisfy the desires of the company. I complained of their ingratitude towards me, which was shown in a new mutiny. I took notice of the obstinacy of the people not to work, which would lead us to the most dreadful necessity, and I demanded the reasons which had led them to a resolution so unworthy of men of spirit and honour. Several of the associates pointed out Mr. Stephanow and cried out, "Speak, and we will support you." Upon this signal the wretch spoke, by loading me with invectives and threatening both myself and Mr. Panow with speedy death. I interrupted him in his imprecations, and made a speech, in which I thanked the associates for having hitherto shared my labours. I declared that I had preserved the command over them for no other reason than to preserve their lives in a voyage of great danger and difficulty, but that, at present, as the greatest dangers were past, I should entirely surrender the command; and that they had nothing to do but choose a chief. With respect to myself, I informed them that I had nothing more to hope from men so destitute of honour and probity, I was determined to quit them and live rather with the wild beasts than among a set of ungrateful men, whose future conduct could not fail to be made up of crimes and wickedness. After this discourse I retired, saying, "Let those who have affection and attachment follow me." I was followed by those whose attachment I knew, and by twenty-two others, who had appeared till then doubtful. On my return into my tent I found myself with fifty-two companions, besides six on board. I had nothing, therefore, to fear from the conspirators, and employed the night in deliberating what was best to be done. At daybreak I was informed of the arrival of deputies from Stephanow's party, who informed me that having made themselves master of the vessel, they had it in their power to abandon me, but that their designs were more noble, as they assured me; that they would acknowledge me for their chief and king, provided I would promise to remain upon the island with them; and that, to convince me that they were not come to impose upon me, three of their party

would remain with me; and the company, as soon as they should be informed of my resolution, would put Mr. Stephanow into my hands, that I might have nothing to fear on his part. The surprise of the vessel filled me with consternation, but I concealed it as well as I could. My disgrace appeared inevitable; for what could I do upon a desert island without a vessel? For this reason, in order to recover some influence over these headstrong people, I invited them to a meeting, at which I promised to discover the sentiments of my mind. The company immediately assembled, excepting Mr. Stephanow with ten associates, who were on board. I then represented to them that no one could be more truly desirous of fixing his residence on this happy island than myself, but that various reflections prevented me from adopting this resolution; and in order to show them that they were well founded, I declared to them that our company consisted of a great number of men, and only eight women, the disproportion would hinder our union; and that, in fact, it was merely this want of women which had prevented me from making the proposal to them of fixing our residence upon the island; but at length, as I saw they had taken their resolution, I would acquiesce in their wishes upon one single condition. Hereupon they all cried out, "Hear, hear." I then declared that my intention was to sail for Japan, and there make a descent near a town, from which we would carry off as many women as we could seize together with cattle and grain. I concluded by protesting that if they would engage to second me in this project, I would promise to settle with them upon the island, to which we might easily return, and that one month would be sufficient for carrying the project into execution. I had scarcely finished my declaration, before they all exclaimed, "Long live our chief, long live our general;" and they came one after the other to kiss my hand.

Finding them brought to this point of submission, I required them to go on board and bring Stephanow on shore; for I declared my apprehension lest that madman might end his exploits by setting fire to the vessel. This fear took such instantaneous hold of their minds that they ran with the greatest precipitation to the landing-place. Stephanow seeing

his party run, supposed them to be attacked by my people, and came on shore to join them; but he was strangely surprised when his own party seized him and brought him to me, where I confined him under the guard of Mr. Sibaew.

Thursday, July the 21st. A light breeze from the eastward and fine weather. I assembled the company to renew their oath of fidelity and obedience towards me; at the same time that I made oath that, after having carried our enterprize upon Japan into execution, I would return to the island of Liquor, to make the settlement of our company. After this ceremony I gave orders for continuing the works, the chase, fishery, and collecting of fruits and vegetables for our voyage. With regard to Mr. Stephanow, I released him from confinement on condition that he should publicly beg pardon of all the company; but as it was no longer convenient that I should entrust him with any part of the service, I contrived that the company should declare him incapable of holding any employ. This unhappy man requested me to leave him upon the island, but I refused to comply with the suggestions of his despair, by representing to him that I hoped to mitigate his disgrace when we should return again to the island, for I durst not acquaint him with my real intentions. My clemency astonished him, and he acknowledged himself guilty, &c. The associates being delighted with the project of forming a new colony, which might hereafter become an empire, worked all night, and, as Mr. Panow informed me, entirely neglected the assay of the ore, with the firm intention of performing that part of their scheme on their return. The night was clear and fresh, and the whole company in good health. The fish we caught were very good and wholesome, and our meals were diversified with excellent fruits and game. Mr. Panow, having taken with him six good marksmen, went out to shoot hogs. At daybreak I found the associates still at work, and our business went on with spirit.

At nine I gave orders to carry all our provisions on board, and eighteen casks, which had been set up and filled with water. Mr. Baturin, having taken an account of our provisions, showed that we were well stored for one month. This day I gave orders to erect a cross, with the following inscription:—

"In the year 1771, on the 16th of July, the corvette *St. Peter and St. Paul*, anchored in the harbour of this island, commanded by Maurice Auguste de Benyowsky, Magnate of Hungary and Poland, General of the Republic of Poland; made prisoner of war by the Russians, and exiled, by order of the Czarina, to Kamchatka, from whence he had the good fortune to make his escape by the force of his courage. This island is not inhabited: it abounds with different wild fowl; the sea affords excellent fish, and its fruits and water are wholesome. It is situated in 32 degrees, 47 minutes latitude, and 355 degrees, 8 minutes longitude, from Bolsha, in Kamchatka."

Friday, July the 22nd. Mr. Panow, on his return from the chase, brought us two boars and several pintado birds. We salted the flesh and carried it on board. At four, our effects being on board, and the wind freshening from the eastward, I determined to raise our camp, and give orders for our embarkation; at nine in the evening all the people were on board; we were employed till eleven in unmooring, and exactly at midnight I set sail.

Saturday, July the 23rd. Fine, hot weather, with a fresh breeze from east-north-east, and a long swell; the sea yellowish, and entirely changed in colour, which induced me to sound, but we found no bottom. At five, saw a double rainbow. The associates complaining of excessive thirst, I caused them to put nitre in their drink, which they had composed of fruits boiled in water.

Monday, July the 25th. The heat increasing, and the wind continuing with the same force. Saw a number of black serpents alongside. At four p.m. saw several bushes floating alongside, several of which we hooked in; a piece of silk was fastened to one of them. This discovery convinced me that we were near Japan; but as I found no bottom, I inferred that we were in the archipelago of islands which surrounds Japan. I therefore kept a good look out in the night; luckily, however, we met with no obstacle. At daybreak the men at the masthead called out land, but we could not perceive it from the deck till between nine and ten; and afterwards, as our course led us right towards it, we saw it very distinctly at noon.

Tuesday, July the 26th. Very fine weather, with a hot sun. Made sail for the north cape of the island which we soon passed. The associates requested me to permit them to land the first opportunity in order to examine those islands which might probably be inhabited. I promised to satisfy their desire, and that with so much the more readiness, as it was of essential consequence to examine the neighbouring coasts of which I had no positive chart with me except a few positions of headlands which I procured out of different collections at Kamchatka. At half-past three p.m. Mr. Kuzneczow, being at the masthead, called out a sail, and soon after four; and in a short time he declared that a great number were in sight. I immediately went aloft with a perspective glass and saw that it was a fleet, among which I perceived three large vessels, and that the whole were standing to the north-west. The approach of night prevented my reaching this fleet. We handed the lower sails to be in readiness to come to, and in the night I advanced with the lead constantly out; but at three a.m. we set all our sails, and at six low land appeared in sight ahead. At nine, being at the distance of no more than two leagues, I stood off and on, and sent the small boat, with Mr. Kuzneczow and six associates, to make discoveries upon the island.

Wednesday, July the 27th. Upon approaching the island the current drove us to the westward near seven leagues in five hours. I fired several guns, as a signal for the small boat to return, but not seeing her I came to anchor at three p.m. in forty-eight fathoms. The boat did not return till eight. Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that the island was not inhabited, but that he had found several huts built of planks round which he saw a quantity of fish bones, whence he inferred that the Japanese frequented this island only for the purpose of fishing. The night being clear and starlight, weighed anchor precisely at midnight, with a light breeze and smooth water. At four a.m. saw an island on the larboard hand, and at six another land on the starboard.

Thursday, July the 28th. At one p.m. saw another land to the south-west, and I resolved to continue my course through the channel with the boat ahead, and the lead constantly going.

At five saw three vessels, at the distance of four leagues ahead, standing across the straits from south to north. In the night we saw fires on all the coasts. Our vessel appeared to be in the midst of a forest, for there were near one thousand vessels around us who were busied in the fishery without giving themselves any trouble at sight of us. Several of them passing near us cried out, "Fiassi to Holland, Fiassi to Sindzi," and others cried out "Namandabuz." At eleven a vessel, very neatly built, approached and hailed us; her masts were ornamented with streamers, and several colours, upon which I perceived some inscriptions; but as we were at a loss to reply to the captain in the Japanese language he at last sent us his yawl with cordage, and by the gesticulations of his sailors we comprehended that he meant to assist in towing us. I immediately passed the ends of two hawsers on board the yawl which carried them on board their own vessel; they immediately lowered their sails, and by means of upwards of eighty rowers they towed us along with incredible swiftness. When we came near the shore I anchored in twelve fathoms, at the same time casting off the hawsers which were brought back by the Japanese yawl, none of whose people would consent to come on board; and when I was desirous of making them some return they refused, at the same time pointing to their necks, doubtless by way of letting me know that they durst not accept anything under pain of death.

Friday, July the 29th. In a bay on the coast of Japan; fine weather, but excessive hot. Wind variable from north-east to south-east, and a strong tide. Gave orders for immediately preparing our arms for service, and loading our cannon with grapeshot, to be ready in case we should be attacked as my companions pretended. At two p.m. ordered Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow on shore with twelve armed men. Mr. Wynbladth was charged with a letter, written in Dutch, containing a declaration respecting my voyage, and a request for a supply of provisions. With the letter I sent three beaver skins, and six martens, as a present to the chief of the place; but as I did not think proper to expose my people to the mercy of the inhabitants I weighed, and towed the vessel by means of the shallop to the distance of two hundred fathoms from the shore

where I anchored in five and one-half fathoms, fine sand. Soon after we saw three small boats row towards ours, and afterwards followed them on shore. The interposition of a rock prevent us from seeing their landing which gave me great uneasiness. My uneasiness increased every hour as I saw no one return till nine at night, when the sentinel called out that he observed three fires approaching the vessel. Having seen the appearance myself, I armed the shallop with sixteen men, and sent them upon discovery. They soon returned, and Mr. Panow, who was commanding officer, called out that our boat was on its return attended by two boats of the country, and that our people appeared joyful. Soon after we heard Mr. Kuzneczow, who called out to us to throw them three ropes, which being immediately done Mr. Wynbladth came on board with a Japanese very well clothed and armed with a sabre. He came on board with confidence, and made a long harangue, every word of which was perfectly unintelligible to me. In order, however, that I might comprehend some part of it, I sent for Bocsarew, who had learned this language during the space of three years at Irkuczk, in Siberia, from a Japanese who had escaped shipwreck at Kamchatka, and after being taught the Russian language at Moscow, was maintained by the Senate to teach Japanese to the Siberians. Unfortunately it turned out that Bocsarew had forgotten most part, and remembered only a few compliments, with which he regaled the Japanese. But I was anxious to know the report of Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow, I consigned the Japanese to Messrs. Panow and Bocsarew, who introduced him into my cabin. The following was the report of Mr. Wynbladth :—

"As soon as we were joined by the Japanese boats, who came to meet us, they made a sign by placing each his left hand on his breast; we did the same, and after this ceremony the Japanese made a thousand other signs, none of which we understood, excepting that they wished us to go on shore. I went on shore with eight associates, leaving four in the boat to keep her afloat. We there found two hundred men on horseback, and an equal number on foot, armed with bows and lances, who likewise saluted us politely; but perceiving that we were desirous of repairing to the town or village we saw before us,

they offered us horses; we mounted, and were thus conducted in ceremony to a castle at the extremity of a village, which is about one-quarter of a league distant from the landing-place. Here we dismounted, and were introduced into the court, in which we were very politely received by a person of distinction, who conducted us into an extensive hall built on columns. Here we found another great man seated on a sofa, who said to us, 'Fiassi guzarimas?'* which we did not understand, and therefore only saluted him, and made a sign that we did not comprehend him. The second words he spoke were, 'To Golland?' which I understood, and made a sign that we were not Hollanders. Afterwards he said, 'To Sindzi?' to which, upon my making a sign that I did not understand him, he continued his questions, 'To Pilipine, To Braki, To Masui, To Tungusi?' and as I had always answered in the negative he beat a drum which was near him. Upon this signal several servants entered, to whom he gave orders, and immediately afterwards they returned with books and rolls of papers; he unrolled them, one after the other, and, having at last found what he wanted, he made signs for me to approach, which I did. He then showed me a chart, in which I distinguished Japan, China, the Philipine Islands, the Indies, and a tract of unknown land nearly occupying the space and position of Europe. He took my finger, and directed me to place it on the map. I comprehended that he sought for the country from which we came. I showed him Europe, which astonished him very much. He showed his surprise by crying out, 'Namandabez'† several times; and afterwards, as he seemed to doubt what he had learned, I availed myself of the assistance of the chart, and made signs to inform him that the duration of our voyage and the hard weather we had experienced had exhausted us, and that we were in want of provisions. He seemed to comprehend

* *Arimas* is the compound word of *ari* and *masu*. Ari is root of *aru* "to be," and *masu* is used with *aru* as a polite suffix. The word *gozarimasu*, so frequently heard, is only the more polite form of *arimas*—"I have" or "there is":—*Fiassi* may have been *Trasshaimashi*, "Welcome," or *Irasshai*, "Come in!" How do you do? is *Ikaga de gozarimas*.

† *Namandabez*; Professor R. K. Douglas, of the British Museum, writes: "Namandabez" is doubtless the common invocation addressed to Budha—"Namo Amida Butsu."

me, and made a sign by pointing to his mouth and his belly; after which he called his servants, and spoke with them a considerable time. For my part, being desirous of hastening my return, I presented to him the beaver skins and the martens, making a sign that they came from you, and that I was only the bearer, at the same time that I presented the letter, which he accepted, but he would not receive the presents; and as I recollected that the Japanese in the boats had refused our offers by making the sign of pointing to their necks, I imitated them. This great man then conducted me into a neighbouring chamber, where I found a woman, to whom I gave the present, and she gave me a basket filled with flowers, which I have brought with me.

"After coming out of this chamber, we found a gentleman in the hall, to whom the chief of the castle likewise spoke a long time, and then dismissed us. This gentleman became our conductor, and led us back, with the same escort, to the landing-place, where we found two boats filled with provisions, which we have brought on board. The gentleman came in our boat, and is the same who is now on board."

After having heard this account I entered into my cabin, to show civilities to the Japanese officer; and to gain his favour, I presented him with two pair of sables. The present appeared to him to be considerable, for he made us understand that he should be contented with one; but, at last, finding himself pressed to accept the whole, he showed by signs that it was of consequence that the present should be kept a secret, and he concealed the skins by carefully wrapping them up.

When he came again upon deck he gave orders for unloading the boats, which was done in a moment, after which he took his leave, and would not permit us to make the smallest present to the boatmen.

The provisions received on board consisted of twenty-five sacks of rice, four pots of soft sugar, four jars of tea, one jar of tobacco very finely cut, eight hogs, sixteen jars of preserved fruits, a quantity of onions, oranges, lemons, pineapples, and other fruits, two casks of salt fish, six casks of a very agreeable kind of wine, and about fifty fowls; but that which

afforded the greatest pleasure to my companions was the sight of three barrels of very strong spirits.

Daybreak surprised us in our labour of hoisting these good things on board. The wind during the whole night blew from the south, and in the morning we had a slight breeze from the northward, which, however, did not last above half an hour. At six I saw a boat arrive, called, in the language of the country, "periaqua," with three men. They came alongside, and put a young man on board, who was very handsomely clothed, and by his gestures appeared desirous of conversing with me; but as it was impossible for me to comprehend him, I caused Bocsarew to be awakened, who, after many explanations, informed me that the Japanese came to acquaint me that a great number of people were desirous of seeing the vessel, but that they were afraid of the cannon, called in Japanese "tippo." I informed him as well as Bocsarew could that every one would be welcome; and, in order that he might positively understand me, I caused the tompions to be put into the guns in his sight, upon which he made an infinity of salutations and at last retired. After his departure I gave orders to wash and clean the vessel for the reception of the company who might come, and we had scarcely ended this work when, at nine o'clock, we saw three boats rowing towards us. In each of these boats we observed a person of distinction with a parasol. Mr. Wynbladth informed me that he had seen one of these writing with the lord of the castle. As soon as they came alongside they came on board, and we saluted them by repeating the words "Fiassi guzarimaz." Bocsarew, being appointed to serve as my interpreter, was well clothed, and followed my instructions with wonderful accuracy, for at every word he spoke he made the most profound bows. Indeed, I am of opinion that his greatest merit consisted in this ceremonial, for it was impossible for me to gather any information by virtue of his skill in interpreting. But as I clearly understood that the Japanese meant to testify their friendship, I gave myself very little concern about the rest. With a view, therefore, to add strength to their good intentions, I took them aside, and gave each two marten's skins, which they received with infinite joy, and a great many

complimentary marks of acknowledgment. This proceeding seemed to have done us great service in their opinions. After the presents were received they informed me that they were desirous of seeing the vessel; I therefore conducted them myself everywhere. One among them being provided with a pencil and paper, formed different characters, and when he returned upon deck he examined the cannon, and wrote again upon his paper, no doubt an account of their number; after which he was desirous of knowing how many we were on board, which he soon learned, for I had brought all my people on the quarter-deck. He counted them all, and wrote down their number; but when they perceived that there were women on board, their curiosity was extreme. They behaved with great delicacy, and signified by their signs that our female companions must have suffered much; after which they departed. About eleven a.m. we received two boats of provisions, and a portrait, together with twenty-six casks of water and two of spirits; the boatmen, as soon as their lading was hoisted out, refused to receive anything from us, and departed. A light breeze from the southward.

Saturday, July the 30th. Though I was extremely desirous to go on shore, my companions would not consent, but requested me to defer my intention, because the good disposition of the natives could not be depended upon. This day the people were employed in setting up the rigging. At three p.m. we saw thirty boats rowing towards us with streamers flying, and when they came near we heard the sound of different instruments and singing. All the vessels stopped at the distance of half a cable, except three that came alongside. Out of one of the boats an old man came on board with two boys richly clothed. The old man presented a written paper to me, which, however was useless, as I had no one on board who could read the Japanese writing for this reason; I sent for the Sieur Bocsarew, who, after having caused the old man to repeat his words at least twenty times, informed me that the Ulikamhy,* or King, sent me these two youths as hostages, in

* According to Perè de Charlevoix. The Emperors of Japan were named Mikado, Dao or Dairy, *i.e.*, Prince, Chief or Lord. After their death they were ranked as "des Dieux Camis" or sacred personages. The prime

order that I might come to him with confidence. I answered and showed by signs that I was ready to go on shore, but that I would not permit the hostages to remain on board, because I had the greatest confidence in their Ulikamhy. I immediately gave orders to man the small boat, and went on board with four associates, the Sieur Bocsarew, and the old man, with the two boys, leaving the command to Mr. Crustiew. When we come near the fleet of small boats all the Japanese called out "Uli Ulan," and immediately preceded us, and the others followed three and three at an equal distance.

As soon as we came on shore carpets were spread for myself and companions to sit on; immediately after which tea and preserved fruits were presented to me. Litters were then brought, on which we were carried about a quarter of a league, followed by an armed troop, and conducted by thirteen officers. We were set down opposite a spacious garden, at the gate of which stood two Japanese sentinels, who cried out "Uli Ulan." As soon as we had entered the garden, we were received by two gentlemen richly clothed, who first spoke to our old man, and afterwards saluted me by three profound inclinations. After this ceremony they took me by the arms and conducted me towards a small house built in the middle of the garden. When we came near the house the gentlemen made me understand that Ulikamhy was in the house, where, in fact, we found him in the saloon, seated on a yellow sofa. His clothing was green and blue silk, with a yellow girdle. Immediately after I had saluted him a sofa was likewise brought me, of a red colour, upon which I sat down. Ulikamhy proposed three questions: who I was? whence I came? and for what reason I had come to Nipon? I replied, by the assistance of Bocsarew, that I was a warrior of Europe, arrived at Japan by accident and the impetuosity of the

ministers who usurped the temporal power of these spiritual emperors assumed the titles of Cubo-Samai; and it seems as if this was the rank intended by Benyowsky. The term Cami, or Kami, says Charlevoix, is equivocal, and primarily it signifies Chevalier, but it implies something more, and is the generic name of the ancient gods of Japan. *Vide* Livre prè liminaire of Charlevoix's "Histoire du Japon." Surunga and Jeddo were the residences of the Emperors Cubo-Samas. (Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 538.) Kilingur may therefore be Surunga.

weather; but as Ulikamhy could not well comprehend my interpreter, he bethought himself of using the assistance of painters, who, having taken paper and pencils, painted figures, by which he informed me of the objects he was desirous of speaking of. The first picture which he presented to me contained my portrait, very little resembling me, it must be confessed, but distinguishable by my clothes, and that of Ulikamhy, who presented me a heart. To show that I understood the explanation, I pressed the figure of Ulikamhy to my breast, who, being very well contented, caused me to come near and join hands with him. He then spoke a short time to his people, who soon after caused my four associates to come in, whom I had selected expressly. Their size and tallness surprised him, and he ordered them to be measured, and their portraits to be taken, which was done in an instant, for the figures were merely sketched out. By his gestures and signs I understood that he wished to know why I was shorter than my people. In answer, I caused a low stool to be brought to support my right foot, and then he saw me in my natural height, which likewise was some surprise to him. It was with much difficulty that I could make him understand that, in consequence of a wound in battle, my right leg was shortened four inches, which caused me to lean towards that side, and deprived me of so much in height. The evening having surprised us in the midst of our discourse, the Ulikamhy proposed to me to pass the night with him, and he informed me that he was desirous I should stay three or four nights together, because a man would soon arrive who was able to converse with me, which I very ardently wished, in order to gather some information respecting the country.

About nine in the evening Ulikamhy departed with his attendants, and we were likewise conducted to a house adjoining to his palace, where we were regaled with tea, rice, dried fish, roast meat, preserved fruits, &c., and, towards the end, with a very sweet kind of wine. We made a very bad shift to eat with their little sticks, and the servants had a good deal of trouble in teaching us.

After supper cushions were laid for us on the carpet, where we passed a very good night. At eight in the morning I

received the report from on board, by which I found the Japanese had supplied us with one hundred sacks of rice and twenty hogs, with a great quantity of fruits and dried fish, wine, and poultry. This report was brought by a Japanese, whom I sent back with orders to set up our water casks.

About ten a.m. we were informed that Ulikamhy was coming. I went out to meet him, and saw him accompanied with three Bonzes, who had very large chaplets at their girdles. One of them saluted me in very good Dutch. The King came to me, gave me his hand, and made signs for me to speak with the Bonze newly arrived. I complimented him on his speaking a foreign language so well, and he politely thanked me by assuring me that he should be happy to do me any service. This Bonze informed me that he was born at Touza, but that his parents, having been obliged to live at Ximo, he had had an opportunity of learning the Dutch language at Nangasaki, and that he had become a Bonze to deliver himself from the yoke of the secular power. With regard to Ulikamhy, he informed me, that he was a King of the province, and had married one of the daughters of the Emperor; that he was one of the most learned men in the country, being acquainted with astronomy in the highest degree, and that his soul was endued with celestial qualities, having never done harm to any one; that he was adored in his own province, and desired in all the others. He then requested I would inform him who I was, and how I came to Japan. I gave him a description of my country and of Europe in general, which, he said, he had heard some accounts of. I informed him that, having fell in battle, I was taken prisoner by the Russians, who had violated the common law of nations by sending me into exile at Kamchatka, from whence I had delivered myself with courage, to return to my own country, but that contrary winds having obliged me to touch at Japan, I had come thither with fear, on account of the relations the Hollanders had wickedly published, that the Japanese put the Christians to death. Upon these last words he replied that it was true that there was a decree of the Emperor not to admit any Spanish or Portuguese Christian into the country, but that the decree did not affect the Christians of other nations, who had never done harm

to the empire. He was going on with his discourse, when Ulikamhy sent for us; we therefore went to him at his palace in the garden, where we were regaled with fruits and tea. The Bonze related to Ulikamhy what he had learned from me, upon which he proposed several questions concerning the manner of fighting in Europe. He condoled with me upon my fate, and made me an offer to remain at Japan, where he promised he would procure from the Emperor an important command in his armies. I thanked him for his goodness, but excused myself on account of my family, the situation of which could not but be an object which I held too much at heart. The King approved my sentiments, and afterwards questioned me respecting the Hollanders, whose true history I thought it proper to relate, at the end of which he thanked me for having told him the truth; for, he said, he knew very well that the Hollanders were but a small merchant people, who were subjected to a Prince who received money of them as a reward for defending them with his troops. I took the liberty likewise to ask the King whether he thought the Hollanders were Christians, and he replied that merchants had no religion, their only faith consisting in getting money, while they gave themselves very little trouble about the belief of a God.*

* The name of the Mikado, Daïri or Spiritual Emperor of Japan in the year 1771, when the Count was in this empiré, was *Figasi-Jamma-no-In*, who came to the throne in 1770; and who was still reigning when C. P. Thunberg visited Miako in 1776.

The name of the Coubo-Tchinay was Mina-Moto-Ye Far-Koo, who acceded to the throne in 1761 and was still the Civil or executive Emperor at Jeddo, when Thunberg visited that city in 1776. He had received from the Daïri (who alone had the right to confer titles on him), the title of *Djo-Ji-Tsi-ji-nay-Day-sin-Souje-no-Tay-Sio-Zei-Si-Tay-Siogoun.*—Mina-Moto was the family name: his private name was *Ye-Farou*, and *Koo*, a title meaning Lord. *Vide* "Gouvernement du Japon," Voyages de C. P. Thunberg au Japon, 1796. Vol. ii. p. 153.

At Miako, the Civil Emperor keeps a governor and guard in charge of the Daïri (Spiritual Emperor). He is regarded as the mentor of the Daïri, who is only a puppet in the hands of the Civil Emperor. His court is the asylum of the arts and sciences; it is the sole university of the kingdom where pupils are educated. They teach them especially poetry, the history of Japan, mathematics, &c. They are also devoted to music, which the women love passionately. All the almanacs are printed at Isié. Although they are very fond of astronomy and make a great deal of astronomers, yet they are

Being well satisfied with this answer, I was desirous of proposing several other questions, but we were informed dinner was ready. It was served upon a small table, two feet high, opposite that of Ulikamhy. The repast consisted of rice, roast meat, preserves, and a great variety of sweetmeats, with a liquor resembling hydromel. During the whole dinner the King talked continually with the Bonze, and it was not till the serving up of the dessert, that he asked me whether I was a Christian, strong enough to die in defence of the Cross. I replied that I had no other respect for the cross than what the value of its materials might demand, and that certainly I should never expect to find a nation so absurd as to put me to death for saying, with truth, that wood was neither more nor less than wood. Hereupon he informed me that I had not understood him, as he meant to ask whether I was resolved to die for my God? I answered, that by dying for my God, I should likewise die for the God of the Japanese, because I acknowledged one only God, who had created every material and visible thing. This answer satisfied him, for he exclaimed "Namandabez," and caused me to be told that I was truly a Japanese in my religion, if I believed in nothing else. I was contented to inform him of my faith, that I had no other belief than in the only God, the Creator of all things, and that my whole religion consisted in doing as much good to my fellow creatures as was in my power, and to injure no one. After this information, the King embraced me and said "Sindaulla, Sindaulla," which denotes very well, very well, and then he retired to take his evening's repose.

After his departure I walked in the garden with the Bonze, who gave me an account of this rich and extensive country, its government and policy; I made a few notes at that time, to enable me to commit my observations to paper more at large at a convenient opportunity.

Sunday, July 31, 1771. At the palace of the King Ulikamhy, at Japan, at the bottom of the Gulph of Usilpatchar.* The

nevertheless obliged to have recourse to Chinese and Dutch almanacs to calculate the eclipses of the sun and moon to the hour and minute. Thunberg, vol. ii. pp. 150 and 327.

* Professor Douglas writes—"I think you are, very probably, right in

Bonze requested me, at three in the afternoon, to give orders to accompany him on board my vessel, which he was desirous of seeing. I directed Mr. Bocsarew to accompany him, with orders to make him a present of sables, and to receive him with kindness and respect. At the same time I sent instructions to bring on shore six pairs of fine beaver skins, twenty-four foxes skins, and twenty-four sables, with forty good muskets well cleaned, and two pieces of cannon on their carriages. These cannon were models which I had found in Kamchatka; and, as the Bonze had procured for me the order and permission to bring my people on shore, I allowed a certain number of the company to land every day. After the departure of the Bonze I laid down to rest, on account of a violent headache I was afflicted with. When I awoke, that is to say, at eight in the evening, the Bonze returned, and thanked me for the politeness with which he had been received on board, and the presents which had been made. We supped alone, for the King, with all his attendants, was gone to a neighbouring town. During our supper, and afterwards, we continued our conversation, and I found abundance of good sense and understanding in the discourse of the Bonze. It was very late before we separated; and as the rest I had taken after dinner prevented me from sleeping, I walked out into the garden, whereupon, approaching the house of the King, I heard a female voice, accompanied by some stringed instrument. The music and the song appeared to be not deficient in melody.

At daybreak I received an account that the presents I had sent for were on their way, and that Messrs. Panow, Baturin, and Kuzneczow were coming, in order to be presented to the King; that all was quiet on board, and that the associates behaved in such a manner as to make themselves beloved by the natives.

At ten Mr. Panow with his companions arrived, and the presents were carried into my apartment. About eleven the

identifying *Usilpatchar* as *Funikata*. At least I cannot suggest anything more likely. But if that is so, and I think it is, it upsets a suggestion which I was going to make, viz., that the kingdom of *Ulikamy* might be *Urikama* or the Gulf of Yedo."

return of Ulikamhy was announced by a noise, and the sound of a hundred different instruments. The Bonze recommended me to meet him and present my companions, which I immediately did. The first conversation consisted only of the ordinary civilities; but, as the Bonze had seized a favourable opportunity to inform him of the presents, he expressed so strong a desire to examine them himself, that he postponed dinner, and repaired to my apartment. When I presented the articles I pronounced a discourse, which was received with the most engaging attention; I then accompanied the King, where I found thirty-five covered tables for three persons at each table. Everything was served up with surprising elegance and order. During the time of dinner several instruments were heard, which, though confused, were nevertheless agreeable. After dinner we proceeded to the garden, where the arms were tried at a certain distance. The butt was a round piece of wood covered with paper, and several of my companions distinguished themselves. The King was at last desirous of making a trial himself, and after having charged one of the muskets, he caused a horse to be brought, at which he fired with so good an aim, that it fell down lifeless. His satisfaction was extreme, and in the fulness of his joy he assured me that I might make any request I chose, with the certainty of obtaining it. I availed myself of this favourable instant to request permission that I might return into his dominions, to open a trade under his protection. His answer surprised me, for he granted me this favour without hesitation, observing, at the same time, that my character had destroyed the prejudices he had imbibed by tradition, and that he not only granted me his protection in his dominions, but likewise would exert his influence with the Emperor to obtain permission that my vessels might enter all his other harbours. He assured me I might depend on his promise, as long as my views should be directed to trade only, and I should not aim at establishing any change of religion, or endeavour to acquire power by building fortresses. He concluded his discourse by informing me that before my departure he would contract engagements with me under the confirmation of a mutual oath.

Monday, August the 1st. Towards the evening I saw pre-

parations made for a grand illumination, and as my interpreter, the Bonze, was absent, I was anxious to know the cause. He arrived later than ordinary, and informed me that the King had convened the great men of his country, to whom he was desirous of presenting me, for which reason I was requested to wait upon him; and as he thought it necessary to inform me of the formalities to be observed, he took that trouble upon himself, after which he led me towards the great hall, where I was received at the foot of the steps by two gentlemen richly clothed, who introduced me into the hall, and placed me immediately opposite the King, who was seated on very rich carpets, having a quantity of armed gentlemen, with their sabres drawn, beside him. In a right line between myself and the King I saw eighteen principal Japanese seated on carpets, and a number of armed men behind each of them.

Such was the order in which I found the assembly. The Bonze stood up beside me, and near the King stood the literary lords, with paper, ink, and pencils in their hands. One of them demanded, with a loud voice, who I was, why I came to Japan, whence I came, and whither I was bound. The Bonze interpreted these demands, and I made the same answer I had before given to the King. The next question was whether I was desirous of establishing a trade for my nation, and what it would consist in. To the first part I answered in the affirmative, but excused myself with regard to the second, because, not being a merchant by profession, I could not speak determinately to it; but I promised that, at my first voyage, I would bring merchants with me, and should be able to enter into formal submissions. The King was content to reply that the vessels should be loaded with furs, which I absolutely promised. The last of all his demands were that I should bind myself never to bring to Japan any book treating of religion, and still less any Bonze of my own country, which I likewise promised; after which the Bonze told me I might retire. He soon afterwards came to me to inform me that Ulikamhy was about to retire to the town of Kilingur, but that, before his departure, he would make me presents and give me a flag, by which I might be known on my return to Japan, and that the King, moreover, was desirous of entrusting me with a gentleman to

make the voyage with me, on condition that I should bring him back the earliest opportunity.

About nine in the evening I received advice from on board that all was in readiness for sailing; that the ship was full of provisions; and I learned with pleasure that the women on board had received visits, and several presents, from the Japanese women. About ten supper was served up in my apartment, at which the Bonze and my officers were present. At six in the morning I was informed of the arrival of the presents of the King, which were brought by two gentlemen, the Bonze preceding them. He declared that he had orders to accompany me on board, or to remain with me all the time I might choose to stay until my departure. The presents consisted of a sabre, ornamented with gold, and suspended to a belt wrought with fine pearls; a complete service of porcelain, gilt; a quantity of tea and tobacco; a flag, to be displayed upon my return, containing an inscription, of which figure 1, (*omitted*) is a copy; a little box filled with different jewellery; and another box containing fifty pieces of gold, each weighing two ounces and a quarter, intended to defray the expenses of the voyage of the young gentleman whom the Bonze presented to me.*

Being informed that the King was already gone, I acquainted the Bonze that I was likewise determined to go on board, which being interpreted to a gentleman present, palanquins were soon brought, in which we were carried to the seaside. Here we found a prodigious number of people, who cried out "Uli ulan," &c.† As soon as we came to the harbour near thirty boats appeared, with whom we went on board, in company

* The Japanese, Thunberg tells us, like all other Orientals, never pay a visit either to foreigners or compatriots without sending in advance some presents—of comparatively little value generally, but it would be the height of impoliteness to appear with empty hands. The present consists of fresh fish, or other some such trifle, neatly arranged on a tray made expressly for the purpose. When natives of distinction, such as princes and other notables, propose to come on board a ship, they send to the captain a small barrel of *saki* (rice-spirit) and dried cuttle-fish, a mollusc much appreciated by both Chinese and Japanese.

† In all the villages Thunberg was followed by crowds of school children who hollooed out, "*Hollanda O me!*"

with the Bonze and two gentlemen, who, perceiving that my small boat was worn out, sent on shore for another, which was built in a superior manner, quite new, and varnished. They presented us with this in the name of the King, and, for my part, I made new presents to the Bonze and the two gentlemen. These last put into my hands two rolls of papers, containing, as the Bonze informed me, permission to return to Japan. They all three recommended to my care the young man who was to go the voyage with me, and I did not observe any embarrassment in him at finding himself among strangers. They then returned to the shore, and on my arrival on board Mr. Crustiew informed me that the associates had carried on a very advantageous trade with the Japanese, to whom they sold a quantity of furs, and received in exchange gold, porcelain, pearls, and other articles.

Tuesday, August the 2nd. On board the corvette *St. Peter and St. Paul*, at anchor in the Gulf of Usilpatchar. A light breeze from the eastward, and fine weather. This day I assembled the whole company to determine whether we should carry our project into execution and make an incursion, according to the plan stipulated at the Island of Liquor, but not one of them ventured to reply. I then took advantage of their silence, and declared that I thought it would be most advantageous to continue our course to Canton, in China, where we might sell our furs and return to Europe, and afterwards, under the protection of some sovereign power, carry into execution a more certain project of forming a permanent colony, in which we could not fail, as we had had the good fortune to open the trade of Japan. These words were scarcely spoken, before the whole company cried out that I might follow my own pleasure in all things, and they would punctually obey. Upon this assurance I gave orders to hoist our Japanese colours, and set sail. At three p.m., having saluted the country with twenty-one guns, we set sail to the southward. We met an immense quantity of fishermen in our way, all whom, at sight of us, called out "Uli ulan." The night continued fair, with a light breeze.

Wednesday, August the 3rd. Under sail. Several of the associates threw themselves at my feet, and entreated me to

anchor again upon the coast of Japan, in order to procure these new opportunities of trading and turning their furs to account. I granted their request the more readily as I was desirous of becoming acquainted with the coast, but I promised to consent to their wishes on condition that they should behave with the most exact subordination. At sunset the weather appeared squally to the northward. At daybreak we discovered an European vessel before us. I resolved to chase her, but I soon observed the Dutch colours, and as the vessel stood to the south-south-east, I pursued my course, and suffered her to go on unmolested. I sailed along the coast of what I took to be a peninsula.

Thursday, August the 4th. On the coast of Japan, in sight of land, and in soundings of twenty eight fathoms; coarse sand and shells mixed with coral; all sails set, weather lowering, and a rising sea, with a fresh breeze from the south-east. The night was dark, and at ten p.m. a storm began, attended with thunder and lightning. About three p.m. a heavy shower fell, and abated the wind. At daybreak we found ourselves driven on the coast by a strong current from south to north. Finding that we were near an opening, which promised to lead us into some good road or harbour, I suffered the ship to drive, and at last came to in sixteen fathoms. The small boat was immediately lowered into the water, and Messrs. Kuzneczow and Panow, with eight associates, went on board, and the Japanese passenger, who was to be put on shore in the shallop, with sixteen armed associates, followed under the command of Mr. Crustiew, to support the small boat in case of need. After the despatch of the boats I gave orders for cleaning and loading our arms and priming our great guns afresh.

Friday, August the 5th. At anchor on the coast of Japan, to the westward of the kingdom of Idzo. At two p.m. the boats returned with a large Japanese vessel. When they came near us Mr. Kuzneczow called us to weigh our anchor and send out towing ropes to the small boat, the shallop, and the Japanese vessel, to carry us into the harbour, which I accordingly did. Mr. Kuzneczow, coming on board, informed me that, having happily arrived on shore, the Japanese, at first sight, fled before him; but after they heard the Japanese passenger

call to them they returned, and in consequence of his information they had been very eager to show their politeness to our people; that they proceeded to a village, where they were received with acclamations of joy, and the inhabitants gave them rice, tea, fruit, and a very agreeable liquor; that during their repast a Japanese, armed with a sabre and lance, came and conversed with the passenger; after which he addressed his discourse to Mr. Kuzneczow, by pronouncing the words, "Nanghasaki Kallas Tohollandi Fiassi Guzarimas," and that immediately he ordered a boat to be got ready, giving them to understand, by signs, that he proposed to follow us, to conduct the vessel into the harbour, which he performed to our very great satisfaction. Annexed is the view * of the land, and the situation of the harbour, named Misaqui Iphima Kallas.

At six we arrived at the mouth of the harbour, where we moored in eleven fathoms, muddy bottom. The Japanese boat quitted us to go on shore, and soon returned with five others which towed us to another situation, where we anchored in five fathoms, good anchoring ground, consisting of mud. The Japanese, seeing us safely at anchor, left us, when I took the precaution to moor the ship. At ten a well-clothed Japanese came on board, who informed me, by the interpretation of Mr. Bocsarew, that he was appointed to guard us; after which he immediately retired, and we soon perceived three long boats at anchor near us, each having three signal lights. On my side I likewise kept a sharp look out on board, with lighted matches hanging beside the guns. In the night the wind veered round to the south-west, and blew with such violence that we thought ourselves fortunate that we were in a harbour. At seven in the morning a boat came alongside, and three gentlemen came on board, who questioned me, whence I came, how long I proposed to stay, whither I was bound, whether I was a Hollander, and in that case they requested a letter for Nanghasaki; and, after all, they desired to inspect the vessel, and demanded how many people we were on board. My answer was, that I came from afar, and was on my way to Nanghasaki; that I had anchored there to avoid the tempest; that I was in want of provisions and water; that I was desi-

* These drawings never came to the hands of the editor.

rous of trading; and, lastly, that our number amounted to one hundred and fifty men, who were in want of everything, but that the vessel should not be inspected. I know not whether Bocsarew interpreted well or not, but I perceived they were not satisfied with us, for they made signs that they did not believe we were Hollanders, pointing to our beards and clothing, and at the same time exclaiming, "Hey! to Gollandi, to Pilipines;" whence I understood that they took us for Spaniards coming from Manilla. I gave them a letter for the Hollanders to the following effect:—

Copy of the letter given to the Japanese in the Bay of Misaqui, to be forwarded to the Hollanders at Nanghasaki.

"Health to the officers-in-chief of the Factory of the Dutch East India Company.

"I acquaint you, gentlemen, that, finding myself upon the coast of Japan, whither I was driven by a series of those incidents which often at sea compel the navigator to seek his safety wherever he can, I find myself in distress which cannot be described, for which reason I have thought proper to address myself to you, and to request you to send me an interpreter, and assistance to conduct me to your port. My ship is a corvette, with near one hundred persons on board. An answer, if you please.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

"Your servant,

"MAURICE AUGUST. BENYOWSKY."

"P.S. In order that you may not be prejudiced by suspicions against me, I declare to you, that having been chief to the confederacy of Poland, I had the misfortune to be made prisoner by the Russians, whose sovereign exiled me to Kamchatka, from whence I have made my escape, by the exertion of courage and valour, with ninety-six companions; and in consequence thereof I am now upon the coast of Japan, in my way in return to Europe."

After the departure of the Japanese, my companions,

despairing of being able to open the trade without fighting, requested me to leave the harbour so soon as the wind should slacken; to which I consented, and immediately got under way with a favourable breeze from the north-north-west.

Saturday, August the 6th. Saw several thousand fishing-boats, many of whose nets we broke, not being able to avoid them. We continued our course with all sails set, the sea being calm and a strong current from the south. At daybreak no land nor vessel was in sight.

Sunday, August the 7th. Wind and weather as yesterday. About sunset saw twenty or twenty-two vessels standing to the north-east. My companions being enraged at the disappointment of their hopes at our second anchoring place, requested me to fall on those vessels; but I refused, as I did not mean to give the smallest cause of discontent to Ulikamhy; I therefore continued my course with the wind and tide in my favour.

Monday, August the 8th. A pleasant breeze; the sea somewhat irregular, and fine hot weather. Continued our course with all sails set. The night was clear starlight.

Tuesday, August the 9th Fine weather, as yesterday. About sunset we thought we saw land in the north-west quarter. At midnight saw several headlands. At daybreak found ourselves on the coast, and the wind being in our favour, I determined to come to. At noon, perceiving the entrance of a bay, I proceeded and anchored in eighteen fathom water; coarse greenish sand.

Wednesday, August the 10th. The position of the vessel not permitting me to see all that happened on shore, I ordered Mr. Kuzneczow and Mr. Wynbladth, with eight associates, to land and endeavour to insinuate themselves into the minds of the inhabitants; but the violent reception my companions met with gave me reason to apprehend disagreeable consequences; but happily my fears were calmed by the prudence of Mr. Kuzneczow, who, seeing the Japanese determined to defend the landing, returned. After the arrival of the boat, and upon the assurance that there was a town situated upon the coast of the bay, I weighed, and approached within one hundred fathoms of the shore, where I anchored

in six fathoms; the night favoured my enterprize, and at daybreak we were moored before the town. At seven in the morning I sent Messrs. Panow and Crustiew, with Bocsarew as an interpreter, and twenty-two armed associates, having likewise mounted two pieces of artillery in the shallop.

After having despatched the shallop and the small boat, I embarked myself in the Japanese yawl which I had received as a present at Usilpatchar, and as it was the lightest I landed first. The Japanese seeing us near the shore, presented themselves armed with lances and sabres, and appeared disposed to oppose our descent; but perceiving by our countenance that we were determined at any rate to land, they retired to a small distance. When I came on shore, I made signs to the Japanese to approach, and immediately an old man of a good appearance advanced and demanded by what right we had landed in their country, and whether we had the permission of Daisi, observing that the Dutch never came on shore without orders. I caused him to be answered that we were neither Hollanders nor Spaniards, but men and friends who came for water and provisions. Whereupon the man replied that we should have provisions and water sent on board, but that it was necessary we should ourselves go on board again. But as I declared that I would not quit the land before I had received provisions and water, the Japanese hastened to load three boats, with which I went on board. Several of the Japanese having come on board began to trade with my people, and hastened to return again to shore, whence they arrived with ten other boats laden with copper, porcelain, tea, sabres, silk, and gold, which they exchanged for furs. These commercial transactions familiarized them with us, and several among them testified their attachment; among others, a young man said much to me without being able to make himself understood, when, being out of patience, he repeated, "To Hollandi, To Sindzi, Pu pu Tippo," * which I understood,

* Professor Douglas writes:—"Tippo is plainly Tappō, and Mimas is the name of a man." *Daisi* is evidently *Daijin*, *i.e.*, Minister of State; but according to Père de Charlevoix the hereditary emperors had the title of Dairy. "*Xicoco*": the correct pronunciation of *Xicoco* is Saikoku, and of *Tousa* Tòza.

and in answer led him to the guns, and said, "To Gollandi, pu." Towards noon the Japanese retired.

Thursday, August the 11th. Extremely hot weather, with some showers at intervals. About two p.m. we heard a great noise on shore resembling the beating of many drums, and soon after we perceived on shore a quantity of men on horseback armed with lances and darts, and a still greater number on foot, who hastened on board an infinite number of boats. Upon this appearance, I immediately sent Mr. Panow with Bocsarew and eighteen associates to declare to the Japanese that I was desirous of being informed of their intentions, that I might receive them either as friends or enemies. But they had hardly put off before I perceived three small boats rowing from the shore, the middle one of which had five flags and near fifteen streamers. I took these for marks of distinction, and therefore prepared myself to salute them on their arrival. Our small boat at last accosted the Japanese and performed its commission, and afterwards returning with them, I saluted the Japanese by a running fire of musketry intermixed with the discharge of six of our great guns. This mark of politeness was sufficient to have driven our visitors back, for their fear was such that they fell on their faces in their boats, and could scarcely be persuaded to rise by any encouragement of Bocsarew, who urged them to proceed. But as I was ignorant of all this, I gave orders to fire six additional guns at the instant the Japanese gentleman entered the ship, which was accordingly performed. His terror at this noise was so great that he fainted away, and it was more than a quarter of an hour before he was able to speak. To revive his spirits I gave him some Japanese wine mixed with sugar, which comforted him and restored his courage. I then caused Mr. Bocsarew to ask what he had to say to me. He informed me that he was Uchaymi Mamas, commander of the guard of the coast of the kingdom Touza, and that being informed that we were strangers who arrived in the country without orders of the Emperor, he was come to arrest us; and to prove that we ought to obey him, he drew a large roll of paper from beneath his habit, which he presented to me. Upon this, pretending to be ignorant or not to understand what he said, I received the

roll and gave it to Mr. Crustiew with orders to keep it, at sight of which the poor devil requested his paper, and pointed to his neck to show me that by losing his deputation he should be punished with death. To set him at ease I caused his paper to be returned, but informed him by my interpreter that I esteemed his master and should be his friend as long as I should be convinced that he was just, but when assured of the contrary, I should despise him. At these words Mimam* shut his ears, and I found great difficulty in making him understand that he might think himself very happy that I did not arrest him himself. The tone of assurance with which he saw me speak to the interpreter softened him, and I seized the opportunity to make him a present of a beaver skin and six sables, which he was very glad of; and I saw him retire with satisfaction and promises of friendship.

After his departure, being convinced that we could not carry on any regular commerce at this place, I weighed, and taking the advantage of a breeze from the northward, made sail, and stood to the south. At daybreak we saw a vessel, on which I fired, but he would not come to until a shot struck him. I then sent my shallop on board, but we found her to be only a fishing vessel, and let her depart in peace.

Friday, August the 12th. Fine clear weather, and excessive hot, with a moderate breeze. Doubling a cape we saw four barks, after which I stood for a short time, but as they directed their course to the north-west, I gave up the chase and stood again to the southward. At six p.m. saw land on the starboard bow at the distance of five leagues, for which reason I kept only the topsails set. About three in the morning we were so near the shore that we heard the breakers, and at daybreak we saw the danger we had happily avoided. At seven we saw another land ahead, and as we approached it very rapidly, we saw it very distinctly at ten bearing due south and a small island south-west. My companions proposed to me to make a descent in a bay then in sight, and I could not resist their pressing solicitations. I therefore anchored in twenty-two fathoms

* Mimam? Minami, a Christian Japanese martyr of this name was decapitated in 1602. *Vide* Charlevoix II. 89.

between the small and large island, but at a very short distance from the latter. Mr. Kuzneczow was immediately despatched with eight associates, and I sent the shallop after him. When we had entered the sound, which we at first supposed to be a bay, the small boat passed very near a large bark at anchor, whose crew shot at them with arrows, and at the same time near sixty boats put off from the shore, so that my people were in great danger. I was advised of this by two reports of the pateraroes which I heard, and I immediately weighed and proceeded to support my detachment by entering the sound. I soon perceived the state of affairs, and standing towards the great bark, I fired two shots into her which drove all her people from the deck. The shallop then went alongside and took possession of the vessel, while on my part I approached the shore and anchored in four fathoms and a half at the distance of half a cannon shot off shore, whither I likewise caused the Japanese bark to be brought, in which we found fifty-six men, four of them being mimas or gentlemen, revenue officers of the Emperor. The lading of the bark consisted of tobacco, sugar, silk, varnish, porcelain, one hundred pieces of leather, some bales of cotton and silk, several chests of sabres, belts, and other articles of wearing apparel.

Saturday, August the 13th. At anchor near the island Tacasima. I assembled the company to decide what was best to be done, and the society determined to take the lading of the bark on board and quit the island. But that which gave me the most satisfaction was that my Japanese passenger who had accompanied Mr. Kuzneczow was wounded by an arrow in the attack. We provoked him, and he declared to Bocsarew that he should be very glad if we would kill all the prisoners, as he assured us that they belonged to the island of Ximo, all whose inhabitants were wicked and good for nothing. Mr. Bocsarew succeeded in making himself more clearly understood by him, for which reason I availed myself of the services of both to examine the officers who were prisoners. They replied that they were civil officers charged to collect the revenues of the island Tacasima and of the island Nanghasaki, that they had entered the harbour only a moment before us, having seen at a distance the chase I had made of several

barks, likewise carrying officers to collect the revenues in the southern provinces; that they had entered Tacasima with no other view than to put the inhabitants on their guard against us; and that they had only done their duty in attacking our people. I caused my interpreter to answer them that I approved their zeal and that their want of success was no fault of theirs, but that as they were now in my power, I thought it proper to prevent them from doing me any injury, and for that reason I should confine them till my departure. They entreated me that I would not detain them, for they said that they were ordered to repair in the course of eight days to the port of Vranda to join the convoy, which would depart about the end of the month, to the number of five hundred vessels, for the port of Osachta; but when they understood that they were no longer permitted to hope that I would restore their vessel, they showed signs of the utmost despair. Their prayers, however, were in vain, for my companions certainly were not disposed to attend to them; and all that I could obtain was that the lives of these unhappy people should be spared.

At five in the evening, I sent four of them on shore to demand boats, that the rest might be landed; but it was not till seven in the evening that six boats came off, in which I sent them away, under the conduct of sixteen of my associates. About nine I weighed, and made sail, and with much difficulty (by the assistance of the boats which towed us) we got out of the sound. As soon as we were in the open channel we continued our course to the south-west during the whole night, and as my companions were unacquainted with the manner of working the bark, I was forced to take her in tow, which impeded my course. For this reason I determined to take her lading on board, which was done in the course of the day, after which we scuttled and sunk her. The cargo of this bark would have been worth three or four hundred thousand livres (French money) if we had been in Europe.

Sunday, August the 14th. Excessive hot weather. The leak continually increasing, demanded our exertions to prevent its consequences. After some search, it was at last discovered that the water entered in a stream as large as a man's arm,

through a cleft in the fore part of the ship. This misfortune was no doubt occasioned by the carelessness of my associates, who, in discharging the Japanese bark, and coming alongside, had knocked the oakum out of some of the seams under water; and as it was impossible for us to remedy this misfortune, we were extremely alarmed. At sunset the wind slackened, and the water became agitated, with a noise resembling that of a river falling into the sea. From six p.m. till noon the pumps were kept constantly at work, without being able to clear the well, in which we had continually three or four feet water.

At eight a breeze sprung up in the north-east quarter, and the man at the masthead called out land. Unfortunately the ship's cargo was shifted by the water so much, and she heeled to starboard to such a degree, that the pumps could not be worked, and the water entered upon the deck. In this most deplorable situation, finding myself at the mouth of the strait, between the two islands, the direction of which I could see but very confusedly in the night, I determined to advance with the lead going. The ship soon after being somewhat righted, I employed all my people in pumping and bailing, for there were near five feet water in the hold. During this laborious business I sent Mr. Kuzneczow on shore to discover a good anchoring place, and about two in the morning he returned with the news that he had found a good and commodious harbour. I therefore resolved to proceed to it, and as I durst not fatigue the vessel by weighing the anchor, I slipped the cable, and stood forward under the topsails. At half-past three we arrived at the place Mr. Kuzneczow had pointed out. I found the entrance dangerous, and perceiving the wind increasing and disposed to be stormy, I was extremely alarmed, and lowered down the Japanese yawl, in which I went ahead with four associates, after having given orders that the ship should stand after us with all the sail she could set. At four we had a dreadful storm, the sea being all in a foam, and notwithstanding our efforts to keep ahead, the ship over-ran us; and to complete our misfortune, the yawl struck on a rock off the southern point of a bay and overset, at the distance of about two hundred fathoms from the shore. I used the utmost exertions

to reach the port by swimming, but the sea was so rough that it was not till after the greatest exertions that I reached the shore quite exhausted. I lost all recollection of what followed until I was roused by my companions, who, having taken notice of the rock on which the yawl overset, sent the small boat to take us up. Loginow, one of the people who was with me, called to them, and they at last found me in a state of stupefaction at the foot of a tree. The information I received from them, that the ship was at anchor in a good harbour, and that the island was inhabited, made me forget the past misfortune, and I pressed them to return; but understanding that three of my associates were still wanting, I engaged them to proceed in the search of these unfortunate men, of whom we found one, named Andreanow, alive, and the other two dead upon the beach. After this we embarked, almost lifeless, and went alongside the ship, which was at anchor in four fathom water, and so deeply immersed that I determined to run her aground upon a sand bank. At eleven I was, by my own orders, carried on shore; for the fatigue had exhausted me so much that I could not stir any of my limbs. My associates set up a tent, while others were employed in unloading the cargo, and Mr. Baturin undertook to bury the two people who were drowned.

Monday, August the 15th. The vessel aground at the Island of Usmay Ligon. After a lethargic sleep of four hours I was awakened by the care of my associates, who had used continual friction. As soon as I recovered my senses, Mr. Panow informed me that we were on an island inhabited by a people in a high state of civilization, from whom I was about to receive a visit; and a very short time after Mr. Crustiew acquainted me that two of the islanders were then at the entrance of my tent. I received them in the best manner I could, and was in the hopes of making myself understood in the Japanese language, by means of Mr. Bocsarew, whom I ordered to be called. All our efforts, however, were entirely useless. They only shook their heads, as a sign that they did not understand us: but one of them presented a paper to us, on which I perceived some Latin letters. I received it with avidity, and it was with great pleasure that I read its contents in the Latin language to the following purport:—

"The Health of our Lord Jesus to the Reader.

"In the year 1749, on the 24th of May, I arrived in this island, with three other companions of the Society of Jesus, and being hospitably received by the inhabitants, I fixed my abode here to propagate the word of God. The chiefs of this island speak the Mandarin language, and have shown the most ardent desire to be instructed in the Catholic religion, which is the only good and satisfactory worship. Their zeal proceeded so far as to induce them to assist me in the laborious charge of propagating the faith, and by the miraculous assistance of the holy patron of the company of Jesus, I had the satisfaction of seeing two hundred and sixty Neophites baptized the first year, whose zeal, constancy, and patience have confirmed my hopes. In the year 1750 my other three brothers repaired to the adjacent islands, and there is no doubt but that they performed their duty with as much zeal as myself. In the year 1754, finding myself oppressed with illness, I thought proper to communicate the present declaration to the chiefs of the island, in order that they might give the most necessary information to those of the company of Jesus, who might be conducted by Providence to this island, to enable them to employ their zeal and strength for the good of Christianity, by promulgating the name of our Saviour among this people, who are sober, and of good manners, and live in the most absolute independence, both of China and Japan. Excepting some merchant vessels of those nations, no other have ever been seen here. Nevertheless, I have seen Dutch vessels pass at a very small distance from this island. A. M. D. G. B. V. M. E. S. P. N.I. Done the 18th of September, 1754, at the island Usmay Ligon.

"Ignatio Salis (Missionary to the Indies, of the Society of Jesus, and of the Portuguese nation)."

After I had perused this paper, I returned it to the person from whom I received it. But I first kissed it, which mark of respect seemed to have conciliated their esteem: they gave us to understand by signs that they were desirous of returning to inform their countrymen of the news. After their departure,

finding myself entirely recovered, I went out to see the situation of the work, and I had the satisfaction to find that the vessel was entirely unladen. But my grief was extreme to see that all our furs were rotten. I gave orders therefore to open all the packages, and expose the whole to the air, with a view to save at least part. I charged Mr. Baturin to superintend this business, as it related to the only resource on which we could depend when we should arrive at China. On the approach of night we appointed a guard and sentinels, and the night passed in the most profound tranquillity.

At daybreak I was informed that other inhabitants of the country had presented themselves, to the number of three hundred, without arms, each person having nothing but a parasol in his hand. Two chiefs, who preceded them, approached me, and after having made the sign of the cross, they presented their hands, and then exhibited to me an old breviary, which was borne upon a carpet by four men. By the inscription I saw that the breviary had belonged to the missionary Salis, and in order to join in the respect these islanders showed to the memory of that Jesuit, I likewise kissed this book. I then gave orders to my companions to bring a large crucifix, which they had taken out of the church of Bolsha. I directed them to present it to the islanders. It was covered with a veil, and as soon as this was raised the islanders fell on their knees, and raising their hands towards heaven, cried out, "Hisos, Hisos, Christos, Christos," and as I saw that they would not rise as long as the crucifix was before them I caused it to be removed; whereupon the two chiefs arose, and embraced me alternately, and gave me to understand that their friendship was sincere. It was unfortunate that we could not make ourselves understood by words, and we found much difficulty in the use of signs. I succeeded, however, in explaining, by my signs and gestures, that our vessel was damaged, and that we were in want of habitations and fresh provisions.

Having thus comprehended my request they left me, and in the course of an hour we saw several boats arrive, which ought mats and wood, and others with people on board, who ne to build huts for us. Another party of the islanders ived with rice, potatoes, bananas, sugar-canes, a kind of

brandy, with provisions of fish, flesh, and fruit. These immediately set to work to cook for us all. Lastly, about noon, another party arrived with carpenter's tools, and gave us to understand that they were disposed to assist us by working on board. I was desirous, however, that the company should have some rest, and therefore made signs that the work would not begin till two days after.

Tuesday, August the 16th. The whole company was busied in assisting the natives of the country to construct cabins, in which four of the associates might lodge together, or two officers. One hut was built for myself alone, at the head of the camp, about which we raised a palisade flanked with four cannon.

The inconvenience we suffered in not being able to make ourselves understood by the islanders induced me to give orders to all the company who could write, to make a kind of dictionary of Russian words, and inquire their signification from the natives in their own language. This appeared to me to be the only practicable means of making ourselves understood.

At two o'clock dinner was served up to the company. It consisted of rice, bananas, and potatoes, stewed with flesh; and our new cooks informed us that the custom of the country was to make three meals a day. For drink they gave us a kind of hydromel and arrack.

This day, being desirous of regulating everything which concerned our interest, I caused the work to be renewed on board by fourteen associates, under the command of Mr. Czurin: Mr. Kuzneczow undertook to repair the sails and rigging, Mr. Baturn took charge of the cargo, Mr. Crustiew undertook to look to our subsistence, the military service was put under the command of Mr. Panow, and I undertook to treat with the natives of the country, whose good and amiable character often excited in me the desire of sharing with them an easy and happy life. For the island was exceedingly fertile, the climate, though hot, appeared excellent, and the people were independent. These were powerful motives to a man who was weary of being the sport of fortune; but unfortunately the hour of my repose was not yet arrived, and it

was necessary for me to bear the burthen of the charge I had undertaken.

In the evening several islanders came to me, and being seated, they often repeated the word Dzignaro, raising their hands towards the sky. Mr. Panow was the first who suspected that they meant to pronounce Ignatio, and in fact, when they attempted to repeat that word, they always said Dzignaro. The respect with which they pronounced this name, convinced me that the missionary had skilfully availed himself of their dispositions to impress them with the most profound reverence for his religion. They left me at last with much regret. After their departure I collected the different notes of the names of things which had been made in the language of the country according to my orders, and I had the satisfaction to find that their number amounted to above a hundred, which could not fail of proving highly useful. Mr. Kuzneczow requested permission to make an excursion over the island with some of the associates; but I refused him that satisfaction, at the same time observing that I was apprehensive of giving occasion to some misunderstanding between our people and the natives.

The night passed in a state of tranquillity, and in the morning I was visited by an islander of distinction, whom I then saw for the first time. He was attended by a number of others, among whom I perceived several of our earlier friends; and as all the natives showed him the most profound veneration, I judged it proper likewise to pay a particular attention to him. He was clothed in a robe of sky blue taffeta, with a long cloak of white silk, a black sash, and wooden slippers covered with satin. On his head he wore a kind of hat of a very fine fur. When he came near me he likewise made the sign of the cross, and took me by the hand. I did the same, and as I had learned some words of the language, I saluted him by pronouncing the word *Tho*. He inclined his head, and smiled at my embarrassment. But I was greatly surprised to hear him speak to me in very bad Portuguese, though sufficient to make himself understood. He said, "Sinor eo sono Tunqunio vay con Padre Dzignaro estas Islas Usma Padre vay morte eo fies a ca Capiton di Genté." I comprehended that he meant to inform

me that he was a native of Tonquin, who came to those islands with Father Ignatio, and that the father being dead, he remained, and was chief of the people. This discovery of the power of making myself understood gave me the highest pleasure. I seized the immediate occasion to express my joy. He then demanded if I was desirous of seeing the tomb of Dzignaro; and upon my answering in the affirmative he appointed three old men of distinction to accompany me. But as it was necessary to cross the bay we embarked in the shallop with Messrs Panow, Kuzneczow, and Baturin.

Our conductors directed us to the mouth of a river, where the shallop not being able to enter we anchored, and the natives called boats, which set us on shore. On our landing we found about fifty persons, of both sexes, who kneeled down and cried *Ilo Dzignaro* (the friend of Ignatio). Our conductors then led us to a garden, where we found an old man busied in collecting flowers and plants. He introduced us into a very neat and well-built hut and entertained us with tea, but without sugar. Our conductors then spoke privately with him, who immediately made a sign to us to follow him, and led us to a small hill which overlooked a very agreeable valley, regularly planted with pulse and sugar-canes. When we arrived at the summit we found a small square building, in the interior part of which we saw an altar, and upon it a crucifix and an image of St. Mary, which, though very ill executed, was distinguished by the crescent beneath her feet, and the crown on her head. I observed the letters upon the crown which are represented in plate [omitted].

The guardian of the chapel showed me likewise two urns, in which the ashes of Dzignaro (Father Ignatio) were contained. At going out of the chapel I could clearly distinguish the letters I. H. S. O. H. M. D. G. B. V. M. O. S. Nque JESU, Anno 1751. I likewise observed some verses, but the writing was so much decayed that I could not make out a single line.

After having visited the sacred monuments of those people, I returned home, where I learned, with the greatest satisfaction, that the damages of the vessel would be easily repaired, and that our people was employed in making new pumps, the old ones being unfit for service. Mr. Czurin having likewise

informed me that the main top sail yard was sprung, I gave him orders to search in the woods for a piece to replace it, but I was answered that the natives had brought several pieces exceedingly proper for the purpose. This day I gave orders for distributing pieces of silk and cotton to the company, to make shirts, frocks, and trousers, in order that they might all have an uniform appearance. Mr. Winbladth, who, notwithstanding my prohibition, had made an excursion, informed me that he had seen very handsome habitations and villages, and had observed large quantities of different fruits, such as cocoanuts, oranges, lemons, pineapples, bananas, water melons, sweet melons, grapes, potatoes, rice, maize, millet, peas, and other pulse; and that in the plantations he had seen beehives, sugar-canes, tobacco, and cotton. He assured me besides that he had visited a manufactory of pottery and a distillery of spirits; and added that all the women in the village were busied in making stuffs, either of silk or cotton. I verified this information myself the same day, and my stay upon this fortunate island increased my ardent desire to form an establishment there.

Wednesday, August the 17th. We had scarcely finished our repast when the Tonquin Captain arrived; I informed him of my wishes, and the advantageous idea I had formed of the happiness of this people. He replied that it depended only on myself whether I should fix my residence among them, and that if I chose it he would propose to the nation to give me a tract of land; but in the first place he was desirous of knowing who I was, how we came to the island, &c. I told him the truth, and my narration, though it was impossible he should well understand it, affected him so much that he wept, and offered me his friendship. It was doubtless with a view to repay my confidence that he likewise related his adventures, which were to the following effect.

He was born at Tonquin of a free family, and studied at Siam in the college of missionaries. He afterwards accompanied a missionary to China, who, joining himself with three others at Nankin, embarked together with himself in a Chinese vessel called a Sampan, which conveyed them to one of the islands of Usmay. Father Ignatio established himself at this

island, Usmay Ligon, and the others departed for other islands. He afterwards gave a full account of the means employed by Father Ignatio to convert the islanders to Christianity, and protested that the said father enjoyed a supreme power in this island until his death, after which the islanders forced him to marry among them. He observed that they had the greatest veneration for himself; but he declared that it was not in consequence of any particular right attached to his person, as the government of the island depended on an assembly of old men, to which the chiefs of the families of the neighbouring islands were often invited. This form of government surprised me, and I could not avoid asking a thousand questions, which led me to a just idea of the constitution and government of this people, of which I propose to give a note at the end of the journal of my happy residence on this island. Our discourse was interrupted by the arrival of a troop of islanders, whom my friend Nicholas informed of my desire to establish myself amongst them: this declaration was very agreeable to them, for they assured me that they would divide their possessions with us, instruct us in the manner of working and tilling the ground, and would give us their daughters in marriage. But as I saw that the idea of our establishment gave them great satisfaction, and was aware that in order to form a colony it was necessary I should be provided with a set of men very different from my present companions, I thought it proper to inform them that my establishment could not take place until two years were elapsed, which were necessary for me to return to Europe and return back again. I found no difficulty in bringing these estimable people to my wish; the open simplicity of their answers showed their virtuous and innocent dispositions. They assured me that they would pray to God for my happy voyage and quick return, and that during my stay I might consider them as my brothers.

After this declaration, they demanded why I did not come among them, nor permit my companions to live with them in a cordial manner. I declared to Nicholas that my only apprehension was that our good intelligence might be interrupted by the inconsistency of my companions, who might displease the islanders by caressing their women. But he set my mind at

ease in that respect, by informing me that they were at liberty to connect themselves with the girls, provided they abstained from the married women, who were known by a veil which covered them. Upon this assurance I promised that from thenceforth, considering the natives of this island as our brothers, we would visit them. But I pressed Mr. Nicholas to make our excuses for not having politely informed the ladies beforehand, and apologised by freely telling my reasons and the fears I had entertained. The islanders answered, laughing, that their daughters were younger than their wives, and that therefore I had no reason to fear their displeasure on that account.

After this explanation the islanders retired, no doubt for the purpose of acquainting their families with the intention that they might receive us with kindness. When they were gone I assembled the company, communicated my apprehensions to them, and required of each individual a solemn promise to behave with the utmost circumspection to these islanders; and having received their oaths, I declared that they were free to visit the whole island, provided one-third of their number always remained at work. This news produced universal joy among them, and they immediately dispersed themselves, but without arms, as I had caused them to leave their arms with me. In the evening a meeting was held, consisting of Messrs. Crustiew, Panow, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Winbladth, Meder, Gurcsinin, and Czurin, where we debated on the means of deriving advantage from the discovery and knowledge we had acquired of this fortunate island. We determined that the disposition of our companions rendered it impossible to leave any of them behind; for I was desirous of leaving a party in order to dispose the minds of the natives to receive a colony in future. Being thus disappointed in my hopes, I felt the most lively regret at not being able to profit by so favourable an occasion, and after having dismissed the meeting, I was plunged in a series of reflections which were exceedingly distressing.

At daybreak I repaired to the nearest village, which was not above a quarter of an hour's walk from our camp, but concealed by a thick wood. Upon my arrival near the enclosure, I was

received in a small building of wood, from which I could easily see all the houses in the village. It consisted of about eighty houses, each having a courtyard before it, with a garden and several huts or outhouses. All the houses were constructed of wood, and covered with planks, and formed a single wide and handsome street, bordered on each side by very lofty and tufted trees. Upon entering the village I met Nicholas, who conducted me to his house, before which all the people were assembled. He asked me if I was disposed to make choice of a girl, but as I replied in the negative, he declared that my companions were of a better composition; and, in fact, I found few of them who were not accompanied by young women, some of whom were real beauties. My friend Nicholas regaled us with tea, and engaged the islanders to form matches at wrestling, at which they are very expert, and afterwards the young women danced to the sound of several stringed instruments. These amusements lasted till the repast was served up in the courtyard of the house, which was a square enclosure, surrounded with trees. Every head of a family caused dishes, ready dressed, to be brought from his own house, and the whole was conducted in such a manner that every one contributed his share, without the charge falling upon any individual. The women eat separately, and the young women waited on both parties.

At the end of our meal, the juice of sugar cane, which we drank, was mixed with a kind of spirit made from rice. This drink was very strong and exhilarating. From one subject to another, our conversation at last returned to the proposal made to me to choose one of their young women, which was again urged, and at last so strongly pressed that I could not avoid saying that I was willing to make my choice at that time, but should reserve the accomplishment of my marriage till I returned. I had scarcely said this before the chiefs arose and the whole company disappeared and left me alone with my friend Nicholas, by whom I was informed that the islanders were gone to nominate seven young women to be presented to me, in order that I might choose a wife from among them. In fact we had scarcely time to take a survey of his courtyard, his garden, and the small houses of his women (for a plurality of wives is established and constitutional, notwithstanding the

religion of Father Ignatio), before we were informed of the arrival of the islanders.

The old men first seated themselves upon mats in the court, forming a circle. Seven women, whose faces were covered, led each a young woman, clothed from head to foot in white silk, with a blue sash; their hair flowed loose on their shoulders, and was interwoven with flowers. When the seven young women entered the circle, my friend Nicholas led me likewise there, and requested me to sit down and examine these charming objects, in order to determine my choice. During this interval one of the old men pronounced a discourse of some length, which he ended by presenting me with a veil, and by the mediation of Nicholas, he gave me to understand that I was requested to cover her with it on whom my affections were fixed. The choice would have been rather difficult, if it had really been incumbent on me to decide, for there were three among them who might have disputed the preference with the most perfect work of living nature. But as my embarrassment was only imaginary, I asked my friend whether my choice would not offend the others, and upon his answering in the negative, I threw the veil over one of them. The others immediately began to dance round her, and caress her, and at last conducted her out of the house to the street, where she was preceded by musical instruments. My friend Nicholas informed me that this ceremony would last upwards of an hour, because the young woman would be conducted to every house, to announce her own marriage and receive presents. In the meantime the chiefs were regaled with tea, and smoked tobacco.

About five o'clock I saw the new married lady return, conducted by her mother, who was about four or five and thirty years of age, and they were accompanied by a respectable old man, who was grandfather to the young women. This old man made a speech, and embraced me; the mother put her daughter into my hands, and leaving her with me, they disappeared suddenly, as did likewise the rest of the chiefs. Nicholas then acquainted me that I must myself conduct the young lady to his house, in which he assisted me, by leading the way. At the door of this house she quitted me, and Nicholas attended me back to the camp.

During our walk he informed me that the newly-married young woman was the daughter of a very devout Christian mother, who had been constantly attached to Father Ignatio; and as he had mentioned his grandfather to me without telling the name of his father, I questioned him positively on the subject. He at first affected concealment, but at last confessed that Seignior Dzignaro was his father, and he had likewise two elder sisters, who were among the seven presented to me for my choice. He informed me that the young person I had chosen was named Tinto Volangta (or luminous moon), and that I might certainly expect her soon at my own place of residence. He then left me, after promising to come again to visit me in the morning.

As soon as I found myself alone I informed my companions of my adventure, and several of them determined to pass the night with me, in order to avoid certain embarrassments; and to answer this purpose more effectually, I requested all the female companions of our voyage to be present, to amuse those who might come from the village. At nine o'clock I was acquainted with the arrival of a body of young women, who came towards our camp singing. Their number amounted to twenty, and they were received and introduced by our women. But as soon as Tinto Volangta entered my hut, the others retired, so that I found myself under the necessity of having a female companion. It was a fortunate circumstance that one of our lady passengers was greatly interested by the young islander, and gave her much entertainment by singing and music; but the rest of our conversation was pantomime.

The break of day surprised us without sleep, except the Usmayan lady, who fell asleep about eight o'clock. When she awoke, two other young women attended to dress her, and afterwards stayed with her. At ten my friend Nicholas arrived with a numerous company. I went out to meet them, and upon being informed that they came to make treaty or oath, I gave immediate orders for assembling our company. The heads of the contract were, that the inhabitants of the Usmay Ligon should acknowledge me as their friend, and that I should engage in an attachment to them. That as I was about to leave them, only with the intention of returning to form an

establishment among them, they would clear a piece of land on the southern part of the island and build a village of two hundred houses for the accommodation of myself and those who might come with me. And lastly, that on my return to Usmay, I should conform to all the usages and laws of my friends.

These articles being ratified by the invocation of God, the creator of all things, I thought it incumbent on me to make my new countrymen a present. Accordingly I gave them eighty muskets, twenty barrels of powder, ten barrels of ball, six hundred Japanese sabres, six hundred lances, and twelve hundred different articles of iron work. This present was highly valuable to them, for they had not above ten muskets on the island, and those had matchlocks. It was a very unfortunate circumstance that I could not leave a detachment on this island.

Thursday, August the 18th. About two in the evening the islanders brought ten oxen, forty hogs, a quantity of rice, millet, and other provisions. On this day likewise, having, by the credit of Nicholas, brought the chiefs to listen to my reasons, I sent Tinto Volangta back to her mother's house, whom I loaded with presents from the Japanese prize. As to my friend Nicholas, I made him a considerable present of furs, though I had but a small quantity remaining, the sea water having damaged almost all of the packages. In the evening I informed the islanders of my approaching departure, at which they were greatly affected, and expressed their regret on the occasion. The open and benevolent character of this estimable people was such as will make me ever regret that I could not fix my abode here, where the vices and wickedness of Europe are yet unknown, and the government is founded only upon the principles of humanity.

After the departure of the islanders, I ordered my people to float the vessel, and get the cargo on board. Our work commenced the next day. At nine o'clock five of the associates appeared before me and demanded permission to remain upon the island. I saw that their resolution was fixed: and having reason to fear that they might excite a greater number of the company to the same determination, I represented to them that they were wrong in taking such a resolution at this time, as they were sure of returning: for I protested to them that I would use every exertion, when we arrived in Europe, to obtain

a proper armament to establish a colony on the island. At first they seemed disposed to quit their purpose; but one of them, named Lapsiew, declared that it was only a loss of time to attempt to dissuade them, as they were determined not to change their mind; and therefore, that if I were disposed to give them a proof of my friendship, I might show it by leaving them a supply of tools, arms, and ammunition. I promised this to make them easy, but I made them swear that they would not seduce any others of the company.

When they were gone, I assembled a committee, to whom I communicated the desire of the five men. The committee referred the business to the general meeting, which was immediately convened, and their decision was, that leave should be given them to remain on the island. Three others joined them, and Mr. Stephanow was likewise desirous of remaining; but the others refused him, saying that as they had taken their resolution for no other reason than to live in peace they would not have an incendiary among them.

In consequence of this resolution of the meeting, I ordered Mr. Crustiew to divide what we could spare into eight lots, in order that every subsequent controversy between our companions who were to remain behind might be prevented by a proper division made in our presence. At eleven we saw three large barks enter the harbour, where they anchored. My friend Nicholas informed me that they were Japanese, from the coast of China, who were driven in by stress of weather. He requested that I would invite them to come on shore, which they did, bringing with them a present of tea, porcelain, and some pearls.

August the 19th. This day we were visited by upwards of one thousand islanders, every one bringing some present. The whole amounted to upwards of one thousand eight hundred ells of cloth, two hundred and five parasols, with a quantity of china vessels, and some ivory figures ornamented with gold. In the evening, by the mediation of Nicholas, I recommended to the islanders those companions who had determined to remain, and they all protested that they would receive and acknowledge them as friends and brothers, and give them a share of their lands and possessions. In this manner I

secured their respective interests. At four o'clock I gave orders for going on board. The value of my cargo was so much reduced that out of a million and a half of piastres which I expected to receive at China I had scarcely sufficient to realize twenty or twenty-five thousand piastres. The night was employed in work, and at daybreak I had the satisfaction to see all my people on board. I judged it proper to assure myself of the disposition of the islanders by a formal oath and contract, which was drawn up in the language of Lequeio, and the counterpart in Latin, signed by both parties. I took the Latin part with me, and they preserved the other. Its contents were as follow:—

"A Treaty, concluded between the chiefs and people of the islands Lequeio, and the Baron Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky, in the name of the company under his direction. Contracted and signed on the 19th of August, in the year 1771, at the island Usmay Ligon, one of Lequeio.

"In the presence of God, who created the heavens and the earth, We, the chiefs and people of the island of Usmay Ligon, and the other Lequeio, of the one part, and I, the Baron Mauritius de Benyowsky, of the other part, do stipulate:

"That I, Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky, do oblige myself, and do promise, upon my faith as a Christian, to return to this island, as soon as possible, with a society of virtuous, good, and just men, to dwell upon this island, and to adopt the manners, usages, and laws of the inhabitants.

"And we, the chiefs and people, call to witness that God who created the heavens and the earth, that we will, at any time hereafter, receive our friend Mauritius, with all those who shall be his friends: that we will share with them our lands, and will assist them in all their labours, until their establishments shall be equal to our own; and, in the meantime, his friends who remain with us shall be considered as the children of our families, and treated as brothers.

"MAURITIUS (in the name of the company of Europeans).

"NICHOLAS (for the chiefs and people of Usmay, and the Lequeio Islands)."

After the conclusion of this treaty I assembled those among my companions who were determined to fix their residence among this worthy people. I gave them instructions for the regulation of their conduct, and at last I embraced and quitted them to go on board. A prodigious number of islanders followed me, who, by their cries and tears, exhibiting an affecting spectacle of goodness of heart and tenderness of disposition. We were ready to set sail at daybreak: I therefore begged my friend Nicholas to request the islanders to go on board their boats; but several of the chiefs, fastening their canoes to the vessel, determined to accompany me till my departure. I weighed at 10 a.m., and sailed out of the harbour without any unfortunate accident.

Saturday, August the 20th. At sea under the top-sails; fine weather, but excessively hot; a fresh breeze and smooth water; saw a large quantity of fishing birds around us. At half-past one p.m., the islanders at last took their leave, and embarked in their canoes, to return to the island. About six we saw a great number of porpoises; the weather was fine throughout the night. About eleven we discovered land ahead, extending from N.W. to S.E. I therefore came to an anchor in twenty-eight fathom fine sand, and took advantage of this anchorage to set up the rigging afresh, as this part of the service had been neglected. At daybreak we perceived that the whole of the standing rigging required setting up, for which reason I was forced to continue the work. During this time several boats arrived with which we trafficked, exchanging knives and some other trifles for a quantity of shells, very neatly wrought.

Monday, August the 22nd. At 9 a.m. saw two ships standing from S. to N., right towards us. I therefore gave orders to prepare for battle, and appointed a number of the best marksmen in the tops. At eleven we were within cannon shot, and I then perceived that they were Hollanders, one carrying eighteen guns, and the other twelve.

Tuesday, August the 23rd. One of the two vessels coming nearly within musket shot of us, fired a ball, and hailed us to come on board and bring our papers. This behaviour of the Dutch Captain surprised me greatly, and so much the more

as being entirely ignorant of the maritime laws I knew not what he meant by my papers: for this reason I answered by four cannon-shot, and the musketry began to play from the tops, which greatly incommoded him. He waited for his companion, who at last came to his assistance, but was contented to keep out a considerable distance from us. I then hoisted the colours of the Republic of Poland, and continued my course due S. They were at first disposed to follow me, but having observed that I made preparations for receiving them, by clewing up my courses, they adopted the wisest conduct for them, which was to put about and continue their course; for I had determined to board one of the two, and make them pay dear for what they had done. This slight combat, the first I ever saw at sea, cost us only a few shot, and the trouble of performing our manœuvres. As to the Hollanders, I know not what their acquisitions were.

Wednesday, August the 24th. Weather rather blustering, but without rain, and a rising sea. Being underway, with all sails set, the associates, from the information they had found in "Anson's Voyage," requested me to sail to the island of Formosa, in order that they might add the knowledge of this island to their other discoveries. The proposition was likewise agreeable to myself, I therefore promised to carry their request into execution.

Friday, August the 26th. About three a.m. I was awakened by the news of land. We had barely time to turn the ship's head to the southward, when we clewed up the mizen, and let go an anchor in eighteen fathom water, the bottom being coral rock. At daybreak we found ourselves near a rock; the island of Formosa being in sight, and appearing to be very high land. I immediately weighed, and doubling the north point of the small island, stood towards the land and moored at the opening of a bay, in fourteen fathom water, greenish sand. The associates were busied the whole night in preparing the boats and clearing their arms, which were distributed with the necessary ammunition. At four a.m. Mr. Kuzneczow, and Mr. Wynbladth were sent on shore, with the canoe and shallop, with sixteen men. At eight we heard three musket shots on shore, which I answered with one of my

great guns. After this we heard a constant firing. At half-past nine we at last perceived our boats returning round a point of the land. Three of the detachment were wounded with arrows, and they brought with them five prisoners, two of whom were dangerously wounded.

Here follows the report of Mr. Kuzneczow.

"After having reached shore, in a commodious bay, where I found the soundings everywhere from eight to five, and three fathoms, I advanced with a detachment of ten associates towards a fire which we discovered. Mr. Wynbladth remained with the boats under his care. We found two Indians and a woman near the fire, whom we gave to understand that we were in want of food. One of them immediately went off and returned in less than an hour after with three other Indians, armed with lances, who made signs to us to follow them. They conducted us to a village, and as we refused to enter into their huts, they brought us boiled rice, with roasted pork, and a quantity of lemons and oranges. The islanders appeared quiet, and were not numerous; but as I had observed a crowd at the extremity of the village, and several armed bodies of men who went out, I imagined that they intended to seek a cause of quarrel with us; for which reason I persuaded my companions to proceed back again, in order to carry the news on board that we had formed a very convenient anchoring place. Accordingly, after having given the islanders some knives in return for the refreshment we had taken, we began to return. But we had scarcely reached the place where we had first seen the fire lighted, before we heard a cry, and were attacked by a shower of arrows, which wounded three of my people. I gave orders to fire immediately on the enemy, and the first discharge checked their impetuosity, when they saw half a dozen of their party extended on the ground. For my own part, not being desirous of amusing myself in that place, I gave orders to carry one of my companions who could not walk, and effected my retreat. The islanders were preparing to fall upon us a second time, when, fortunately for us, the cannon shot from on board, intimidated them, and caused them to leave us for a time at liberty. But when we came to the seashore we were attacked by a great number of the

savages. It was a happy circumstance that Mr. Wynbladth was on the spot. We then fell upon them, and, after having overthrown at least sixty, we made five prisoners, and collected a quantity of lances and bows, which are now in the boats."

Upon this information I would have quitted the place, as I was not desirous of exposing myself to war with the natives, but my associates insisted that I should enter the harbour. I found it impossible to calm their fury, and for that reason at last consented. We therefore weighed, and with a slight breeze from the eastward, and the boats ahead, I entered the bay, and anchored at the distance of one hundred fathoms off shore.

Saturday, August the 27th. Moored in a bay at the mouth of a river on the island of Formosa. As soon as I had got the ship moored I ordered twenty-eight men on shore, under the command of Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew, who went on board the shallop, and rowed towards the shore. As soon as they landed they were met with fifty islanders, who held branches of trees in their hands; and as these people came without arms, Mr. Baturin received them kindly. They threw themselves first at the feet of my people, and by their signs gave them to understand that they entreated forgiveness. This voluntary submission disarmed the rage of my companions, and several of them ran to the shore and called out that all was well. Upon these pacific appearances the associates imagined that they might enjoy themselves in the habitations of the Indians, and declared to Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew that they were desirous of going to the village. Their absurd obstinacy gave way to no persuasions; for in spite of the remonstrances of those gentlemen twenty-two departed for the village. Being informed of this mutiny, I determined to go on shore myself with fifteen other associates, and immediately directed my march towards the village, which was not far off. I had scarcely made a few steps before I heard a violent firing and horrible cries. The noise increased, and at last I saw my people retreating, and pursued by a number of blacks, who hastily followed them. When they came near me they rallied, but no more than seven of them were armed, the others being

entirely naked, with several arrows sticking in their bodies. I gave orders, therefore, for those who had no arms to retire towards the vessel, and rallied the others, by whose assistance I stopped the crowd of islanders, among whom I observed several armed with our muskets. Unfortunately for them they knew not how to use them, and as they were more advanced than the others, they were quickly destroyed by our fire. Only two of them escaped, who threw down their muskets to favour their flight. At the moment the Indians made their retreat, or rather fled, Mr. Kuzneczow arrived with twenty fresh companions, who chased them out of their village, and at last set fire to it in several places. After the total defeat of the islanders, the dead were counted, and it was found that they amounted to upwards of two hundred, without reckoning those who were wounded and had fled.

On our return from this expedition a party of the associates discovered a small harbour in the river, in which they found seven boats and a bark in an unfinished state. They set fire to the bark, and brought away the boats, which were loaded with the arms of the islanders. As soon as this operation was ended I went on board and put the chiefs of the mutiny against Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew in irons.

This accident abated the desire of the company to prolong their stay. They therefore requested me to seek another anchoring place. Taking advantage of the calm, I weighed, and by the help of the boats towed the vessel out of the sound. We had scarcely doubled the north point before the current carried us to the northward. At daybreak we found ourselves opposite a small bay, into which I determined to enter, but as the current tended to drive us beyond it I came to anchor in twenty-six fathom. About eight a light breeze sprung up, and I was preparing to set sail when I saw two canoes rowing towards us. At ten they came near us, and one of them hailed us, crying out, "Signor Houvritto, vai, vai." They made signs to us to follow them, which I did, having all my boats out to assist in case of accidents, but we happily entered into a very beautiful harbour, where I anchored near the southern shore, with a view to be sheltered from all winds. The depth

of water was three fathom, and the vessel was so near the land that a man could jump on shore.

N.B. I must here observe that I found in this season a violent current along the island Formosa, which carried the vessel one and three-quarter leagues per hour; but I observed that this current caused the vessel to follow all the sinuosities of the shore, and kept us always at the same distance from it.

Sunday, August the 28th. At anchor in the harbour, Kaleewan Bay, on the island of Formosa, fine clear weather, but excessively hot. We had scarcely time to coil up our running rigging before a prodigious number of islanders of both sexes appeared with poultry, rice, sugar-canes, hogs, oranges, and other fruits, which they exchanged with us for pins, needles, and other small articles. Though these people behaved themselves with circumspection, I would not venture to place any confidence in them. For this reason I constantly kept a dozen of the associates armed. About three p.m. a crowd of islanders appeared, having at their head a man clothed in a droll manner, partly in the European and partly in the Indian fashion. On his head he wore a laced hat, a large sword hung by his side, his stockings were made of cloth, and his shoes were no doubt of his own manufacture. This appearance surprised me, and I immediately sent Mr. Kuzneczow to meet him; but as he could not understand his language, he brought him on board, where I learned that he was a Spaniard of Manilla, who had lived seven or eight years among these islanders, and he had acquired the confidence of several cantons. He made me a very civil offer of his house; but as I thought it necessary to make a minute inquiry before I trusted him, he informed me that he had fled from Manilla to the island Formosa in a vessel manned by six of his slaves, and that he had been forced to his proceeding in consequence of having, in a moment of rage, massacred his wife and a Dominican, whom he had found in her company. He said his name was Don Hieronimo Pacheco, formerly Captain of the port of Cavith, at Manilla. This Spaniard assured me that I might trust the people of that canton, who were the best people in the world, and thought themselves under an obliga-

tion to me for having ill-treated their enemies : for he informed me that the news of my conduct, with respect to the Japanese, had already arrived thither.

Upon this good news I made him a present of a complete suit of clothes, with some shirts and a good sabre ; I promised, besides, to give him fire-arms and other utensils, provided he was careful in assisting us during our stay ; upon which he promised and declared that he would not quit me during the whole time I should remain on the island. In fact, after having spoken a short time to the islanders, they retired, and he remained with us that night.

In the evening, having received information that our water was in a putrid state, I gave orders for taking in fresh water at daybreak ; in consequence of which I inquired of Don Hieronimo Pacheco the place where we could obtain the best water. He informed me that the islanders would bring me good spring water, but that there was a brook near an advanced rock, which he showed me, in which we might obtain the best water in the world. But he warned me, at the same time, that the islanders of that canton were at war with his friends, and that it would for that reason be necessary to send a party of armed men thither to guard the sailors while they filled their casks. Upon this information I gave instructions to Mr. Panow to go early with twelve associates on the business, and recommended to him at the same time to be upon his guard in case of a surprise. Not content with this precaution I gave orders for awakening me before their departure ; and having called them all before me, I recommended to them a second time to be on their guard. They set off at last, at eight a.m., having been detained to set up some casks.

After the departure of the boats I entered into conversation with the Spaniard, who appeared to be perfectly acquainted with the island. It was from him I learned that part of the island on the western side was subject to the Chinese, but that six parts out of seven were independent, one-third part of which only were savages, among whom we had at present fallen. He assured me that with very little assistance he thought it practicable to conquer the island and drive out the Chinese.

His reasoning, and the combination of circumstances which he mentioned, pleased me, and I attended to him with so much the more willingness as I had conceived the project of carrying his plan into execution. I therefore availed myself of the present opportunity to propose that he should return into Europe with me. But this he positively refused, and assured me that he was sufficiently acquainted with Europe to thank heaven that he was out of it. To this he added that he was become familiarized with the manner of living in Formosa, and that as he had a good wife and several children, neither his duty nor his inclination would suffer him to leave them. Our conversation was interrupted by dinner.

Monday, August the 29th. At anchor in Port Maurice. Don Hieronimo remarked that as the watering place was so near he was surprised that our people did not return, and he begged me to send the shallop upon discovery. Mr. Kuzneczow immediately went with eight men and returned about two p.m. with the canoe and the periagua in tow. As soon as I perceived them at a distance I was surprised to see that some of them were covered with blood, and had arrows sticking in their bodies, and as I did not see either Mr. Panow or Mr. Loginow I began to fear the worst. When the shallop came on board Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that Mr. Panow and Mr. Loginow were mortally wounded, and that John Popow was the first slain. After having received Messrs. Panow and Loginow, in order to give them every assistance, I inquired concerning the fact, and was informed that Mr. Panow having visited the environs and discovered no signs of any person being near, had been desirous of bathing while the associates were at work filling the casks, and that he himself had invited the others to follow his example. But he had scarcely laid aside his arms and clothes when he was attacked by twenty Indians, who shot at him with arrows; that Popow was one of the first who fell dead, and that afterwards Panow and Loginow fell, and all the others were wounded, and that certainly not one of them could have escaped if Volinsky and Andre had not fired at the islanders from the canoe into which they had retired. They added that they dared not return on board and abandon Mr. Panow, who from time to time gave

signs of life, as well as Mr. Loginow. They were in this situation when the shallop came to their relief.

After this information I ran to my friend Panow, around whom I found all the company assembled; but as I was desirous of hearing what he said without interrupting him, I did not come forward. The following were the words of this invaluable friend, which will ever be present in my memory:

"My brothers," said he to his companions, "inform my friend, our commander, that my only regret at quitting life is, that I shall no longer be able to second and support his labours. Alas! he is very far from seeing their conclusion. Tell him that I love him as my life, and that I should die contented if I could have seen his merit and virtue recompensed. Entreat him in my name not to revenge my death, but content himself with informing my brother of this misfortune. Take example, my friends, by me; if I had followed the advice of our chief and friend I had still lived. Respect and obey him as a father; and thou, unhappy friend, Stephanow, lay aside thy haughtiness and that hatred which is concealed at the bottom of thy heart against this worthy friend.—Supply my place by thy fidelity to him." At these words I came forward;—but my God, what a sight! He seemed to have recovered all his powers. He grasped my hand, wept and embraced me, but was unable to speak for a long time. At length he exclaimed, "Alas, dear friend! I shall soon be no more.—I am myself the cause.—But forgive me.—My last wish is that heaven may ever give thee friends like me.—Thou art worthy of them, and happy are they who shall know thy worth as I do. May heaven grant that this land, which soon shall cover my bones, may be thy patrimony." The power of death interrupted his words and deprived me of this dear and most valuable friend.

Loginow had paid the debt of nature a few instants before. I determined to bury them immediately; but as I was desirous of providing that their bodies might not be disturbed, I begged Don Hieronimo to speak with his friends, the islanders, and request permission to bury them on their territory. To this they readily consented, and we performed their funerals with the greatest order. I fired twenty-one guns on this occasion,

and ordered Andreanow to engrave the following words on a stone:

"Here lies Vasili Panow, a Russian gentleman of illustrious birth and merit, the faithful friend of Mauritius Benyowsky, who was treacherously slain with two other companions, John Loginow and John Popow, by the inhabitants of this island, on the 29th of August, 1771."

After the burial Don Hieronimo declared to me that his friends had determined to avenge the death of my companions, and that consequently they would proceed to attack their neighbours. My associates joined in this proposal for vengeance, which had already began by the massacre of our three Indian prisoners. While I was thus urged to come to a determination, the Spaniard informed me that the canoe we saw rowing towards us was filled with our enemies. My associates waited for no orders, but rushed on board the boats and attacked them. Their first discharge slew thirteen, and the others they immediately brought on board and hung at the yard-arm. I represented to them that this execution was enough, and that it was prudent to terminate our warfare here; but, alas! I preached to the deaf. They persisted in their determination to go in quest of the Indians and make them feel their vengeance. As I saw I could make no impression on the minds of these enraged men, I was forced to promise to direct their proceedings that they might not expose their lives to no purpose.

My resolution being once made I entered seriously into the business. For this reason I requested the Spaniard to guide my people towards the principal residence of the nation who has given so bad a reception to us; and as he promised to accompany us I gave him a good carbine. He requested leave to bring with him a couple of hundred of his Indian friends, in answer to which I represented that these poor people might become the victims of their good intentions, and be slain by my comrades for want of knowing them. However, he removed my objection by proposing that every one of our party should wear a piece of white cloth on his left arm. This precaution appearing to me to be sufficient I acquiesced in his demand, and he immediately went on shore to make his necessary pre-

parations for the attack which was appointed to be made at daybreak.

About seven in the evening I caused the boats to tow our vessel to the river of the massacre, where I anchored. At three a.m. I ordered forty-six companions on shore, commanded by Messrs. Crustiew, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Wynbladth, and Stephanow, and we only waited for Don Hieronimo who arrived at four. They then proceeded inland, and we heard nothing till about three quarters after six, when the noise of the musketry convinced me that the action had began. Soon after I saw a number of islanders retiring towards a steep mountain, and then it was that my companions on board directed their pieces at them and made a dreadful slaughter. These unhappy men, seeing themselves pressed on one side by my troops and on the other by the islanders under the conduct of the Spaniard, threw themselves prostrate upon the ground. I was then forced to declare to my whole party that I would fire upon them if they continued the massacre. On this message the parties contented themselves with making prisoners, the number of whom amounted to six hundred and forty-three. The killed were reckoned and proved to be eleven hundred and fifty-six. What surprised me the most was that among the wounded and prisoners there were a great number of women armed in the same manner as the men.

Our expedition being thus ended, without any of our side receiving the slightest wound, I went on shore, and the Indians presented me with the slaves. But as I refused to keep any of them, the Spaniard chose fifty and abandoned the rest to his friends. I contented myself with carrying all their arms on board. About ten o'clock a party of our friends the islanders appeared with near two hundred women, children, and old men, whom they had made prisoners. The whole troop appeared to be overjoyed, and returned towards their habitations: but for my own part, being desirous of leaving a spot which presented nothing but the desolation of the village which our party had set on fire, I retired with my vessel to our first station.

Tuesday, August the 30th. Having this day informed my friend the Spaniard of my wish to establish a camp on shor

he begged I would permit him to make the necessary preparations. In consequence of my acceding to his request he went on shore, and about three o'clock he returned with about five hundred islanders, who began to erect huts for us. Several were finished before evening. I therefore went on shore myself with the women and such of our people as were wounded and a guard of sixteen men. At the close of the day the islanders set a guard of forty men on our right flank in order to secure us, as they said, from the attacks of the allies of the nation with whom we had been at war.

Wednesday, August the 31st. At daybreak Don Hieronimo presented his family to me with a great number of his friends, and likewise acquainted me that Huapo, a prince of the country, was coming to express his gratitude for my having avenged his subjects upon the two nations who were their enemies. He informed me that Huapo lived in a town about thirty or thirty-two leagues distant inland, that the central parts of his dominions were well civilized, as was also the western part of the island, the eastern coast only being possessed by a savage people, among whom, however, he excepted the territory belonging to Huapo, which was inhabited by a gentle and industrious race. He added that the Prince Huapo could muster twenty or five and twenty thousand armed men, notwithstanding which he was often disturbed in his capital, either by the Chinese party or their allies.

After this information, he insinuated that it would be easy to conclude a treaty with this prince to form establishments in his country, the productions of which, consisting in gold, crystal, cinnabar, rice, sugar, cinnamon, silk, and particularly the most beautiful kinds of wood, might form advantageous branches of commerce; in exchange for which they would receive a quantity of hardware, iron, and European cloth, to the profit of 200 per cent. to the sellers. Such was our conversation, when it was interrupted by the arrival of the Bamini, or General. The Spaniard immediately hastened to meet him, and I caused my companions to honour him with three discharges of their musketry. When he had arrived near my barracks, he caused a tent to be put up, the ground underneath being covered with a rich carpet, upon which he

seated himself, and invited me to do the same. The Spaniard stood up to attend us, and serve as my interpreter.

After the first civilities, he demanded who I was, whence I came, what cause had determined me to land on the island of Formosa, &c. I replied to his questions in short, that I was a general of a kingdom, who, having been made prisoner of war, had effected my escape with a party of my people to return to my own country; that having found the island of Formosa on my way, I anchored on the coast to procure water, but that the cruelty exercised by the two nations towards my companions had demanded vengeance, which I had satisfied, and was preparing to return to my country.

He replied by requesting me to defer my departure till the arrival of Huapo, who, having heard such wonders of me, had determined to come in person to visit me; in consequence of which he had been despatched with a party of troops to defend me against my enemies. To this compliment I replied that I was truly sensible of the good disposition of the prince; that I should be infinitely flattered by the honour of seeing him, and still more in rendering him every service in my power; that the precaution of sending his troops to defend me was superfluous, as no force could have any effect upon me. To this declaration I added the most flattering compliments to the Bamini, to whom I immediately made a present of a beautiful sabre, which, however, he refused, by observing that he could not accept it without the knowledge of his master. After this conversation he regaled me with tea and tobacco, at the same time that at intervals he caused betel and the areca nut to be presented to me, with a small quantity of lime, all which together I chewed, and found most execrable.

The habits of this general consisted of a long red pautalon,* Chinese half-boots, a white shirt, with a vest of black, and a red surplice, or outer garment, which had some buttons of coral set in gold. His head was covered with a bonnet of straw, exceedingly pointed, and the upper extremity was ornamented with horsehair dyed red. His arms consisted of a sabre, a lance, and a bow, with a quiver containing twenty-

* The pautalon is a close garment fitted to the body, and all of one piece from head to foot.—T.

five arrows. The troops who attended him were entirely naked, except a piece of blue cloth round their middle, and their arms were lances and bows.

Thursday, September the 1st. This day all our huts being finished I landed all my people, and having raised two epaulements, I placed four pieces of cannon upon them, two on each flank of my camp. No more than eight men remained on board as a guard.

Our repast was not of long duration. The Formosian general ate with astonishing rapidity, without speaking a word; and after he had devoured a quantity of rice, with some pieces of roast meat, he rose, and began to chew his betel, and to smoke tobacco. As I was desirous of making my court to him, I followed his example, though my palate suffered for it. After dinner we walked round my camp. When we came near a battery, Bamini requested me to order some cannon shot to be fired. I immediately gave orders to fix a butt at five hundred paces distance, and pointed the pieces myself. At the second fire the boat which the islanders had exposed as a butt was broken in pieces, at which the Formosian general testified the greatest surprise. To increase his astonishment, I gave orders to my companions to take their arms, and fire at a plank at eighty paces distance. Very few of their shot missed, and as the plank was shot through, this exercise gave him great satisfaction, and induced him to spare no flattering expressions on the occasion.

About five in the evening Bamini received a courier, who announced the approaching arrival of the Huapo. The general therefore left me, and went to prepare a camp. I embraced this opportunity to give orders for some fireworks, and at the same time gave the Prince the diversion of seeing our military exercise. The islanders, in the meantime, had become so familiar with us as to leave their daughters freely in our camp; and it is remarkable that there was no instance of any pilfering committed by them, though our people were exceedingly negligent. I employed the night in making several different fusees, and a large serpent for the fireworks.

[September the 2nd.?] At daybreak Don Hieronimo waited on me, to acquaint me with the arrival of the Prince, and

advised me to send two of my officers to meet him, instead of going myself. As he offered to serve as their interpreter, I immediately sent Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow, with six of our associates, armed, to attend them. After their departure I ascended a hill to see their camp prepared. I perceived that the arrangement was made after a certain order, the tent of the Prince being in the centre, and the others round about it. About eight o'clock I saw the troops march in, and at last the Prince arrived.

Their order was as follows: First came six horsemen, with a kind of standard. These were followed by a troop of infantry with pikes. After these came thirty or forty horsemen, and another body of infantry with bows. A troop armed with clubs and hatchets came next; and last of all came the Prince, attended by twelve or fifteen officers, mounted on small, but beautiful horses. The rest of the troops came after without any regular order. On their arrival at the camp, every one lodged where he could, and there was no guard set.

About eleven o'clock Don Hieronimo returned to invite me, in the name of the Prince, to come and see him; and he brought several horses, though the distance was very short. I immediately mounted, and soon arrived at the Prince's tent. His appearance struck me at first sight. He was between thirty and thirty-five years of age, about five feet three inches high, of a strong and vigorous make, with a lively eye and majestic carriage. Upon being introduced to him, I found Mr. Crustiew already in great familiarity with him, who said to me in Russian "this youth would do our business, if we proposed to remain at Formosa; and his good disposition would permit him to assure me that I might be king of the island whenever I pleased." He had scarcely spoken, when the Prince addressed me by our interpreter, assuring me that I was welcome on the island; and that he had heard, with the greatest satisfaction, of the manner we had treated his enemies, for which he thought it proper to make his grateful acknowledgments. To this he added that he had no doubt but that I was the person whose coming was announced by the prophets, who had foretold that a stranger should arrive with strong men, who should deliver the Formosans from the

Chinese yoke; in consequence of which he had determined to pay me a visit, and make me an offer of all his power and forces to support and obey me. This commencement changed my system, and the Spaniard insensibly led me to play a new part, by assuring the Huapo that I was a great prince, who had visited Formosa with the intention of satisfying myself concerning the position of the Chinese, and to fulfil the wishes of the inhabitants of the island, by delivering them from the power of that treacherous people.

Upon this information, I thanked the Prince for his good intentions, and assured him that I should always make it a part of my glory to contribute to the happiness of a nation who were so fortunate as to be governed by a prince of such wisdom and penetration as himself. But that upon the present occasion, having come only for the purpose of contracting alliances with the natives of the island, and more especially with the Huapo, I should explain myself more at large on another occasion, as these affairs and interests required to be treated of in secret. The Prince appeared to be satisfied with this reply, and invited me to dine with him. Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow were likewise of the party, as well as the Spaniard, whom the Prince took into favour, and caused him to be immediately clothed after the fashion of the country, at the same time that he gave him a belt and a sabre, as marks of distinction.

After dinner the Prince proposed to visit my camp, and while our horses were getting ready, Mr. Crustiew went before to prepare the men to render due honour to the Prince, who was attended by near fifty officers on horseback, and his whole body of troops following him at the distance of about three hundred paces. When we came in sight of our camp the cannonade began, and the astonished sovereign was in great danger of sharing the fate of his officers, most of whom were thrown by the frisks and leaps of their horses, who were not accustomed to the noise, and could not be made to advance. We therefore dismounted, and arrived at the camp, where the associates saluted the Prince with three discharges of musketry, and the ceremony ended with twenty guns from the ship. This honourable and noisy reception gave him infinite

pleasure, and as a mark of friendship he put his hand in mine, and in this manner we proceeded to my tent, followed only by his general and three other officers. He soon resumed his discourse by giving a detail of the reasons which made him desirous of driving the Chinese out of the island, and he left me no reason to doubt that vanity induced him to declare war upon them. His inclination in this respect would certainly have been highly advantageous to me if I had proposed to remain in the country; but as my determination was to return as speedily as possible into Europe, I thought it would be very unsafe to engage in enterprises which, even on the most happy event, would not make my return the less necessary. But, on the other hand, being well convinced that by an alliance with this prince I should be enabled to propose the establishment of a colony on the island to some European power, I resolved to do everything in my power to preserve his favourable disposition towards me.

About four in the evening the Prince expressed a desire to see the vessel. I accordingly ordered thirty of my companions to go on board immediately, and afterwards sent Mr. Crustiew to attend him, with directions to amuse him as long as possible, that I might have time to prepare my fireworks. All was ready at half-past seven, when I conducted the Prince to a place where he might see the whole fire, which began after the discharge of three great guns. He expressed his admiration at this exhibition, but informed me that the Chinese made the same. When the fireworks were ended the Prince retired, after giving me his belt and sabre as a token that he would share with me his power over his army, which amounted to eight thousand men, of whom only two hundred and sixty were horsemen.

As soon as the Prince was gone I assembled a committee, in which I declared Mr. Stephanow our equal, and capable of being admitted to our confidence; and I gave orders to Mr. Crustiew to acknowledge him as such before the whole company. At the same time I gave directions for preparing the presents for the Prince Huapo, which consisted of two pieces of cannon I had brought as ballast, thirty good muskets, six barrels of gunpowder, two hundred iron balls, and fifty pounds of match.

[September the 3rd.?] At daybreak I detached Messrs. Crustiew, Wynbladth, and Kuzneczow, to inform the Prince of the presents, to which I added thirty common Japanese sabres, one sabre very elegantly wrought for himself, and twenty others for his principal officers.

About eight o'clock Don Hieronimo came to announce a visit on the part of the Prince, who came attended only by his confidential officers, as well to receive the presents as to treat with me on objects of the greatest importance. About ten he arrived, and as I had the whole intermediate time to converse with and make inquiries of the good Spaniard, I had my answers in readiness. In the first place, the Prince caused a very magnificent tent to be erected near mine, in which very rich carpets were laid; and here it was that he received me. He began the conversation by thanking me for the presents which he had accepted on my part, and then proceeded to make the following demands:

1. Whether I could leave part of my people behind to remain with him till my return.

2. Whether I could bring back a number of troops armed with muskets, and skilled in the management of cannon; and what would be the expense of maintaining one thousand men?

3. Whether I could procure for him vessels armed with cannon, and captains to command them?

4. Whether I would accept the concession he would make me of the province of Havangsin; which, with its cities, towns, and inhabitants, he would cede to me in propriety, on condition that I should support him with Europeans until he should have driven the Chinese out of his dominions, at which period he would yield up to me his whole kingdom?

5. And lastly, whether I would assist him in an expedition he was going to make against one of his neighbours, on condition that he should allow me a certain sum, with other advantages?

6. That after having received my answer, he should propose to me to enter into a permanent treaty of friendship with him?

These questions appeared to me to be the work of Don

whom he salutes. When we had made several turns in the camp we returned to the Prince's tent, who urged me to come to a determination to accompany him in his enterprize; and, as I had resolved to assist him, I thought it proper to make some inquiries into the subject. The information I received was as follows: The Prince Hapuasingo, sovereign of a neighbouring territory, who was allied and tributary to the Chinese, had demanded, in consequence of a private quarrel of individuals, that Huapo should put several of his own subjects to death; and as Huapo did not choose to comply with his wishes, he made war upon him, in which Huapo was not successful, but was constrained at last to pay a considerable fine to Hapuasingo: and though he had fulfilled the treaty, yet the Chinese Governor demanded a further reimbursement, on pretence of the expenses he had been at in bringing his troops into the field; and upon this plea the Chinese, with the assistance of Hapuasingo, had usurped one of his finest and most fertile provinces. That, considering the present as a favourable moment to avenge himself on his neighbour and the Chinese, he hoped, by my assistance, to bring his wishes to a happy termination. He informed me, moreover, that the army of Hapuasingo did not consist of above five or six thousand men; and that the number of Chinese who could come to his assistance were about one thousand, of which no more than fifty were armed with muskets. That the distance of Hapuasingo's capital was not more than a day and a half's march from the place we then were at, and that the roads were very good.

Upon this information I promised my ally to maintain his quarrel, and required no more than one day to get ready, and sixty horses for my companions and their equipage. My promise transported the Prince with the greatest joy, and induced him to declare Don Hieronimo his General of cavalry. I thanked him for this mark of confidence; but as I had need of him near me to serve as an interpreter, I begged the Prince to cause him to be declared in the meantime a principal officer, bearing the Prince's orders and mine, which were necessary to be implicitly obeyed. The Prince promised that everything should be done according to my desire; and then I quitted him, to return to my camp with the Spaniard. Immediately

Soon afterwards the Prince informed me that all was in readiness, and went out with me. We approached a small fire, upon which we threw several pieces of wood. A censer was then given to me, and another to him. These were filled with lighted wood, upon which we threw incense, and turning towards the east, we made several fumigations. After the ceremony the General read the questions and my answers, and whenever he paused we turned towards the east, and repeated the fumigation. At the end of the reading the Prince pronounced imprecations and maledictions upon him who should break the treaty of friendship between us; and Don Hieronimo directed me to do the same, and afterwards interpreted my words. After this we threw our fire upon the ground, and thrust our sabres in the ground up to the hilts. The assistants immediately brought a quantity of large stones, with which they covered our arms, and the Prince then embraced me, and declared that he acknowledged me as his brother.

On our return to his tent he caused a complete habit, made according to the fashion of the country, to be brought, with which I was clothed; and in this manner we set out for the camp of the Prince, where we were received with every demonstration of joy. On our arrival at his tent dinner was served up in a more plentiful manner than usual; and as the Prince had requested the company of my officers, I caused them all to attend, except Mr. Baturin, who commanded in my absence. During the whole time of our meal our ears were stunned with a very noisy kind of music, and the continued beating of drums. At our rising from table, I was not a little surprised to see the two pieces of cannon planted at the entrance of the camp. But Mr. Wynbladth informed me that my associates had paid the Prince the compliment of placing them there; at which he was exceedingly well satisfied. At four o'clock, all the principal officers being assembled, with the Bamini at their head, the Prince spoke to them for a long time, and after having ended his discourse, he dismissed them. Half an hour afterwards the Prince and myself, accompanied by the Spaniard, mounted our horses and passed through the camp, where I was saluted by all the officers. The manner of salutation consisted in each officer touching with his left hand the stirrup of him

After having declared and fixed this order, I caused ammunition to be distributed, and ordered four patereros, which belonged to the shallop, to be got ready, with sixty rounds of ball, and twenty of rubbish for each; and with a view that these pieces might be more effectually serviceable, I caused piquets to be shod with iron to drive into the ground, and provided each with a socket at top to fix the piece. This commission was very ingeniously performed by Mr. Baturin. About ten we received sixty horses; but as eight more were wanting to transport our patereros and ammunition, I despatched Don Hieronimo, who brought them. This day we dined all together; and after having placed the command, in my absence, in the hands of Mr. Crustiew, and Messrs. Gurcsinin, Meder, and Czurin under him, I took my leave of them.

Thursday, September the 1st, 1771.* On the island of Formosa, marching to assist the Prince Huapo in his war. At 4 p.m. I entered the camp of the Prince, who immediately struck his tents, and prepared to follow me, after having appointed one hundred and twenty horsemen and four hundred infantry to clear the way. We did not halt till eleven o'clock, near a brook called Halavith.

Friday, September the 2nd. At four in the morning we renewed our march, and at seven Don Hieronimo, as we were descending a mountain, made me take notice of a small town belonging to Huapo, but, as we left it near a league distant on the right, I could not judge of its extent with any precision. Its environs, however, seemed to be well cultivated. At nine we halted to refresh our horses, whom they fed with rice; and, after having pitched our camp on the border of a wood, we remained there till four in the afternoon, to avoid marching in the noon-day heat, which was extreme. At four in the after-

* Here is an inadvertence of the Count with regard to time. Under the date of August the 31st are included the adventures of three whole days, as appears by the succession of the hours. It seems probable, that during his stay on shore, he kept minutes by the principal events, and afterwards divided them into day's transactions by memory; and that the present date should be September the 5th; a supposition, which, by including the three following days in one, agrees very well with the Prince's assertion (page 366) that Hapuasingo's capital was distant only a journey of one day and a half. The interpolated dates evince undoubted falsification.—T.

noon we resumed our march, and continued our progress till ten at night, at which time we stopped in a valley, where we received twenty oxen loaded with rice, a quantity of fruit, and several casks of a kind of brandy.

Saturday, September the 3rd. At three in the morning we set out again, and continued till nine, when we came to a village with a pond of water near it, in which we caught some excellent fish. As I found this village abandoned by its inhabitants, I imagined it belonged to the enemy, and the information I received from the Spaniard confirmed this opinion. From this, I had no doubt, but that Hapuasingo was apprised of our invasion; and for that reason I should have been glad to have conversed with the Prince. And as he only followed me at the distance of a march, I thought it proper to wait for him. Encamped near a deserted village. The Prince did not appear till near five o'clock. I took the liberty to remonstrate with him for his slowness; which he excused, by representing that his troops being loaded with provisions could not march so quickly.

Sunday, September the 4th. At three in the morning we resumed our march; and at half-past four, being in the van with Don Hieronimo, we observed thirty or forty horsemen before us. I immediately advanced with six associates, and the Spaniard. They paid no attention to us till they supposed us to be in their reach, and then, turning about, they came on full gallop, with their lances in their hands. Their courage was, however, not a little disconcerted by the first report of our firearms, which dismounted two of them, whom we made prisoners. From them we learned, by the examination of Don Hieronimo, that we should soon see the main army advancing towards us, and that we were then at no greater distance from the capital than a six hours' march.

The rest of my troops having joined me, we continued our march without seeing anything remarkable, except some villages on our right and left, and a prodigious quantity of cattle. As we were now very near the enemy, I pitched my camp to advantage, and fixed my patereros for its defence. About noon we perceived a troop of about an hundred horse, who approached to examine us at leisure; which I permitted, with the intention of familiarizing them with us. At two o'clock

we observed another body of upwards of fifty horsemen on our right; and at last, a great number of troops, amounting at least to ten or twelve thousand men, but very few cavalry. As I made no movement, these troops began to prepare for the attack: and at the same time I put my men in readiness to keep up a continued fire. I was desirous of working the patereros myself; and for that reason had them brought near the centre.

About half-past three a party of about twenty horse approached to insult an outpost which I had set. As soon as they came within reach I fired a few shots at them, which had no other effect than that of intimidating them. They soon, however, recovered from their apprehensions, and disposed their whole troop to attack me; but their reception was so warm that near two hundred were slain. This loss, instead of checking their impetuosity, appeared to increase their fury. They came on a second time, and, after very considerable loss, were forced at last to retreat. I pursued them for two hours, when the approach of night obliged me to halt. The Prince did not come up with us till eleven, and a council was held, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy in our turn.

Monday, September the 5th. At two a.m. I disposed our troops in order, and placed a division of my comrades on each wing, and myself, with my own division, occupied the centre. At three we marched towards the enemy, and when we had arrived very near them, we waited only for the break of day to commence the attack. At three quarters after four the attack began, but the noise of our patereros and muskets was sufficient to put them to flight. This loss was so much the more considerable as they had no thought of providing for a retreat. The greatest number retired into the town. The spirit of the troops of Huapo likewise carried them before us, in which situation the enemy, no longer intimidated by our fire-arms, turned upon them, and began a dreadful slaughter, which, however, ceased at our approach, as soon as we could make use of our arms.

While the battle began in the city, Don Hieronimo proposed to send fifty horse to the other side of the town, to prevent

Hapuasingo from escaping. I immediately gave orders for twenty of my associates, under Messrs. Stephanow and Baturin, to perform this office; and they were so fortunate as to make Hapuasingo prisoner, with four of his women, with whom he was endeavouring to make his escape. This capture decided the whole quarrel; for he promised to Don Hieronimo to comply with all the demands of Huapo, on condition the lives of himself and family should be spared. When he came before me, I declared that he was my prisoner, and that so far from being desirous of putting him to death, I should wish to cultivate his friendship, on condition of his giving every satisfaction to Huapo, who was justly irritated. About eleven, all the noise of war having subsided, I caused inquiry to be made after Huapo, in order to put Hapuasingo into his hands; but as this Prince was desirous of being a spectator, instead of an actor, he did not return till about noon; at which time I delivered Hapuasingo to him, on condition that he should not suffer any personal injury. And then I thought proper to encamp on the other side of the town.

Monday, September the 5th. In camp, near the town of Xiaguamay, on the island of Formosa.* At three I received a visit from Huapu, accompanied with Bamini, who overwhelmed me with protestations of friendship; and, as I understood that all the operations of war were ended, I declared to the Prince my resolution to return, and set sail as early as possible. This information was very unpleasant to him; but as he was convinced that he should not succeed in attempting to dissuade me from my purpose, he contented himself with entreating me to return as soon as possible, which I solemnly promised to do. This day we regulated the order of my departure, and the manner in which the province was to supply me with provisions, pursuant to the order of the Prince. In the evening Don Hieronimo requested me to leave one of my companions behind to assist him in his functions. On his pressing entreaty I persuaded young Loginow, whose brother had been slain, to fix his residence here till my return, in order to learn the language of the country, and assist our future operations.

* The principal town of North Formosa is Mangkia or Banca, on the Tamsuy river, under Chinese authority.

Tuesday, September the 6th. The next morning I received the Prince's presents, consisting of some fine pearls, eight quintals of silver, and twelve pounds of gold. He apologized for the smallness of the present, on account of his distance from home, and because my precipitate departure prevented his making it more considerable. But with regard to myself, he sent me a box containing one hundred pieces of gold, weighing in the whole thirteen pounds and a quarter; and gave orders to Bamini to accompany us with one hundred and twenty horsemen, to provide for our subsistence. Don Hieronimo likewise attended me as interpreter; and I gave orders for our departure at four in the evening.

After renewing our oaths and engagements with the Prince Huapo, we took our leave at three; and I had the satisfaction to see that he did not part with us without tears. At four we began our march; and at the moment that my troop filed off I made the Prince a present of my patereros, with the greatest part of the ammunition we had brought; at the same time that I requested the favour that he would appoint our companion Loginow, who stayed behind, his general of artillery. This he promised in his presence. Our march was very easy and pleasant, for we were mounted on good horses, and went by the most direct road; and we were plentifully supplied with provision of all kinds at the places where we halted.

Wednesday, September the 7th. We continued our march through a pleasant and well-cultivated country, watered with fine rivers, and very populous, as we could judge by the small distance from one village to another. Whenever we rested we were surrounded by a multitude of people, who brought presents. Their good will was, however, chargeable to us by the returns we made. This day I made an offer to Bamini of part of the gold and silver I had received of the Prince, but he positively refused to accept it, saying that he was contented in possessing my friendship, which he begged I would preserve till my return.

Thursday, September the 8th. At three p.m. we at length arrived at our camp very much fatigued and exhausted with the excessive heat we had suffered, as there had been no rain

during the whole of our excursion. General Bamini, after having given the necessary orders to the chief inhabitants of the country respecting our subsistence, took leave of me. He embraced all my associates one after the other; and at the instant of his departure, he put into my hands a collar of pearls on the part of the Prince, and a rich tent, with a carpet of superior workmanship.

After the departure of Bamini, I received the congratulations of my companions, and saw with the greatest satisfaction that Mr. Crustiew had disposed of everything in the best manner. In the evening, being desirous of giving my companions a mark of liberality, I distributed among them the whole of the silver and gold by weight; and I put the pearls and the box of gold, which had been privately given me, into the hands of my intimate friends, the officers and women. When the associates were informed that I had kept nothing for myself, they proposed each to give me a half share of their possessions; but I refused, and begged them to preserve the whole, and to reserve their generous disposition for some future occasion, if I should find it necessary to apply to them for assistance, in which case I should not scruple to have recourse to them for a loan.

This conduct on my part seemed to elevate their minds, and gave me a perfect empire over them. And at this moment I was convinced that though a man of genius may avail himself of his superiority over common minds, yet an act of generosity at a proper time is worth a thousand speeches, however eloquent.

After the company had separated, none remained but my intimate friends, who endeavoured to persuade me to fix my residence at Formosa, in the province which the Prince Huapo had ceded to me. They represented that the associates, being this day witnesses of the mildness of my command, and guided by the most profound respect towards me, would be sufficient to form a colony; and that we might besides send, by the way of China, at some future time, certain emissaries into Europe, to engage some sovereign power in our interests; or, at all events, to raise recruits. Their opinions were so well supported, that at last I could make no other objection than my own peculiar interests, namely, that I had a wife who loved

and was attached to me by the bond of marriage, and who probably at that instant had a child, as she was with child at the time of my departure. But, in order to conceal my own private sentiments, though I communicated as much to them as I thought necessary, I did not fail to represent that a person on the spot could do more than a thousand written messages; and that, therefore, upon my return in Europe, I might reasonably expect to obtain the favour of some court, as we could assure them the greatest advantages; such as that of forming an establishment in the Aleuthes Islands, to carry on a rich commerce of furs; to open the trade of Japan; to form an establishment on the islands Lequeio; and lastly, to establish an European colony on the island of Formosa. I expressed my firm assurance that these propositions would insure our happy success; and that in case the European courts should abandon us, we should always have it in our power to carry our project into execution, by the fitting out of private vessels. This reasoning at last determined them, and they requested permission to explain it to the whole company; for they assured me that every individual was resolved to demand my consent not to quit the island of Formosa.

After having gained this essential point, I retired to rest, which was very necessary to me, and did not awake till ten the next morning.

Friday, September the 9th. When I arose, I received the deputies of the company, who, having been informed by Mr. Crustiew of my intention, had paid respect to it, though they had already made a different determination themselves; for which reason they confined their request to that of desiring that I would not quit the island until the 12th of the month, in order that they might have time to recover themselves from the fatigues and difficulties they had undergone. I granted their request with so much the more readiness, as in reality the fatigue of our march had been excessive, and the good conduct of my companions was such as led me to comply with every request they might make. I therefore promised to remain on the island until the 12th; and my consent was followed by expressions of the most lively gratitude on their part. This day the whole company dined together.

After dinner I gave orders for putting an end to all work, that all the associates might follow their recreations, except a guard of six on board, and four on shore. The officers likewise seized this opportunity to make some excursions into the country; and, for my part, I employed myself in drawing up some notes respecting the project of forming a colony on the island. These were as follow:

Some notions and details respecting the island of Formosa; and the plan of forming an European colony there.

The island of Formosa is called by the Chinese, Touaiouai, and by the natives Paccahimba. It is one of the finest and richest islands of the known world. The soil, in an infinity of places, produces two harvests of rice and other grain, with a great variety of trees, fruits, plants, animals, and birds. Cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, are very abundant here. This island is intersected by great rivers, lakes, and waters, abounding with fish. It has many commodious harbours, bays, and sounds on its coasts. Its mountains produce gold, silver, cinnabar, white and brown copper, and likewise pit coal.*

Saturday, September the 10th. The associates came to work of themselves, and began to load the vessel. This day Don Hieronimo entered into an oath with me before the whole company, in which he engaged to support the favourable disposition of the Prince towards me. I made him a present of several Latin books and some arms.

Sunday, September the 11th. I gave orders for our embarkment, and the natives of the country assisted us with the utmost readiness, with everything in their power. This day Mr. Stephanow asked leave to go on shore, which I durst not consent to, as I had reason to fear the wickedness of his character, which certainly might have destroyed all our credit and interest on this island. But as I was not desirous that the refusal should come from me, I promised to explain his wish to the company; and promised, that the moment they gave their consent, I would make no objection. I gave orders for the

* Exports from Tamsuy comprise the following articles:—Rice, indigo, coarse sugar, jute, ground-nut cakes, camphor, grass-cloth fibre, wood, rattans, tea, rice-paper pith, pulse, barley, wheat, sulphur, and lignite coal. —Consul Swinhoe.

immediate calling together of the company on board, in the morning, to decide on this affair; but Stephanow was scarcely gone before I assembled a committee, to whom I communicated his intention. Every individual, urged by the same motives as myself, opposed his purpose; and several among them undertook to induce the whole company to refuse him. I employed this night in writing out instructions for Don Hieronimo, and at daybreak I went on board, accompanied by him. After I had taken a formal leave of the islanders, at ten I put a letter for the Prince Huapo into the hands of Don Hieronimo, with instructions for Mr. Loginow, who at last took leave of us, and returned on shore. Immediately after his departure, the company assembled, and deliberated upon the proposition of Mr. Stephanow. Their determination was, that it was impossible to suffer any other person to go on shore, and more especially Mr. Stephanow, who had given so many proofs of his evil intentions. This unhappy man, urged by despair and rage, attempted to throw himself overboard; and by his outrageous deportment obliged me, at length, to order him into confinement. In the meantime we weighed anchor, and set sail under the two topsails, with the boats ahead, as well as five or six of the country boats, who were ready to come to our assistance, as the road was difficult.

Monday, September the 12th. A light breeze at E.S.E. with fair clear weather. When we had got to the mouth of the harbour, it fell calm, which obliged me to tow the vessel out by the boats, where I anchored in sixteen fathom water. At sunset the wind sprung up at S.E. and I set sail, and stood to the northward, in order to double the northernmost extremity of the island of Formosa. In the night the wind slackened, and we saw many fires on shore. At eight a.m. we discovered two islands ahead, with a channel between them of sufficient extent to induce me to sail through it. At eleven saw a large vessel at the distance of three leagues to the northward, and prepared to chase her; but finding she outsailed us, I gave up the attempt.

Tuesday, September the 13th. Fine weather, inclining to squally. This day Mr. Stephanow was released from confinement, and I declared to the company my resolution to direct

our course to Macao. In the night the weather was moderate, and we continued our course very agreeably.

[Benyowsky's narrative at this point agrees remarkably with that of Anson, whose book he had with him; only Anson *en route* from Tinian to Macao passed the southernmost, Benyowsky the northernmost point of Formosa. Anson observed the rocks of Vele Rete and many fires on shore at Formosa, "an illumination," and Benyowsky also saw similar fires and similar islands.]

Thursday, September the 15th. Close, cloudy weather throughout, with heavy rain. At three a.m. sounded, and got ground at thirty fathoms, fine sand and broken shells; and we observed a very strong current from N. to S. At daybreak saw a quantity of fishing boats around us. At nine the coast of China was in sight, and I determined to go into some harbour. At ten several fishing vessels, being near us, offered to sell us some fish; and upon our expressing our willingness, several canoes immediately came alongside, from whom we bought all their fish for twelve piastres. Two Chinese among these fishermen spoke a little Portuguese, and were at last persuaded to pilot us into Macao. They demanded for this service one hundred piastres; but in the meantime requested leave to go on shore for their clothes, to which I consented, on condition that one only should go on shore while the other remained on board. This agreement being made, they conducted us to an anchoring place; where we came to in eighteen fathom, fine sand and mud.

Friday, September the 16th. The pilot, having returned on board, made me to understand his direction to weigh, and make sail along the coast, in order to put in at Tanasoa; and by way of explaining the reason, he said, "Mandarin hopchin malas, Mandarin tanajou bon bon malto bon;" all which I made shift to comprehend wonderfully well. I therefore made sail without delay, and stood along shore. At daybreak the pilot showed me the bay of Tanasoa, into which we entered, and anchored in five fathom water, opposite a castle, which I saluted with three guns, and received the same number in return. The pilot immediately went on shore, and did not return till ten o'clock, when he appeared, together with a Mandarin,

and an interpreter. He demanded who I was, to what nation the ship belonged, where I came from, and whither I was bound? To this I replied, that I was an European, and one of the nobles of Hungary; that the vessel had belonged to the Russians, but having taken it from them, who were my enemies, it now belonged to myself; that I came from Kamchatka; was on my return to Europe, and proposed to put in at Macao. The Mandarin wrote my answers with a hair pencil, and said he was surprised to see Hungarians arrive at China. He afterwards asked what I was in want of, and being told that I wanted fresh provisions, he consented that a party of my companions should go on shore with the interpreters. I therefore availed myself of this permission to send Messrs. Wynbladth and Kuzneczow on shore, accompanied with six of our companions, to carry my presents to the Governor. They consisted in a beaver skin and two sables.

Saturday, September the 17th. At anchor at Tanasoa,* before the town. At five p.m. my officers returned, and brought word that the Mandarin had accepted my presents with pleasure, and had sent me in return a service of porcelain, with two chests of tea, six cows, and twelve hogs, with a quantity of poultry, and a kind of arrack. The associates brought an hundred different kinds of sweetmeats, and some toys, very nicely wrought. The interpreter acquainted me that the Mandarin was desirous of purchasing some furs, but secretly; I therefore sent one hundred and fifty beavers, and three hundred sables; in return for which he sent six thousand eight hundred piastres in three casks. Here I had additional cause to regret the loss of my furs. My companions likewise opened a trade with the inhabitants, and sold every scrap of bear's skin they could collect. In the night several Chinese vessels anchored near us, and my companions went on board

* It is very remarkable that the Count informed the Governor of Mauritius, officially, that he had been forced to attack the Chinese town of Tanasoa. It appears from investigation that the town of Tanasoa can be no other than Tamsuy in Formosa, and if he did attack this town he must have afterwards deemed it prudent to suppress the fact, and have invented his campaign against Xiaguamay, his so-called capital of Formosa.—*Vide supra*, Introduction.

them. They assured me that every boat had several cabins, which were filled with girls who sold their favours. A.M. Set up the rigging and cleaned the ship thoroughly. My companions were incommoded by the quantity of fruit they ate on shore, and six of them were taken with illness.

Sunday, September the 18th. My pilot took notice that the wind was favourable, and that we ought to take advantage of it. I therefore set sail, and, after standing off shore, I directed my course to the southward, which was contrary to the wish of my pilot, who was absolutely averse to losing sight of the shore. The quantity of fishing boats we saw were innumerable. Towards the evening they all made for the shore, and as I was importuned by my pilot, I consented to do the same. At daybreak we saw many water snakes around us, some of which I caused to be taken, and the pilot ate them. At nine it fell calm, and at noon our latitude was, by observation, 22 degrees 32 minutes. Eighteen of our people were this day sick, which I attributed to the spirituous liquor they had drank.

Monday, September the 19th. The pilots inquired whether my vessel drew more than six feet of water, and when I informed them that she drew upwards of eight, they begged me to come to anchor, because at the fourth hour of the tide the depth of water at this place was eight or ten feet. The under current here was contrary to that at the surface. I therefore anchored in compliance with their wishes, and I determined to note this observation in my journal, in order that more skilful navigators might, at some future time, ascertain the fact. At six p.m. weighed with a light breeze at east, and the tide in our favour. This night one of the women who was attached to Mr. Csurin was brought to bed. The Chinese boats which surrounded us the whole night made a considerable noise with their oars. At daybreak we saw a fleet, at the head of which was a vessel of prodigious magnitude, almost entirely gilt, and hung round with numberless streamers. My pilots informed me that it was the Canton fleet, which carried the revenues to Pekin. We counted one hundred and eighty-six vessels.

Tuesday, September the 20th. This day I was attacked by a violent fever, for which the pilots advised me to eat an orange roasted in its juice, with sugar and a good deal of

ginger. They prepared this remedy for me, and it produced a strong perspiration which dissipated my complaint. Messrs. Wynbladth, Baturin, Gurcsinin, and Kuzneczow, with twelve others, were affected in the same manner. At eight p.m. Mr. Sibaew acquainted me that Mr. Stephanow, taking advantage of my indisposition, had formed a party, but as he could not yet say what their intentions were, he promised to watch their motions. Sibaew had scarcely finished his discourse before I heard a noise on board. I went out of my cabin, where I found Mr. Crustiew engaged in a quarrel with Stephanow. I gave orders to seize the latter, and after receiving the information that this wretch had proposed to the company to sign an act of complaint against me, to be delivered to the Governor of Macao on our arrival, I ordered him to be put in irons. This day we had twenty-two sick.

Wednesday, September the 21st. About six p.m., anchored among the islands called Ladrones,* where we remained all night. At five a.m. weighed, and at ten the pilots showed me an island which they called Omy;† and at last made me understand that Omy is the Chinese name for Macao. At half-past eleven we saw the fort and the Portuguese colours displayed. At noon, being opposite the fort, I saluted it with twelve guns.

Thursday, September the 22nd. At half-past one p.m. we were fairly entering the harbour, where we saw several vessels at anchor. At two, in passing the pass,‡ I was hailed to come

* The Ladrone Islands, a small group directly fronting the estuary of the Canton river. The Great Ladrone, the Man-san of the Chinese, is generally used as a landfall by vessels bound for Canton; and with the Little Ladrone, or Pocking-haw, and Potoe or Passage Islands with contiguous groups form an outer belt of islets outside the broad embouchure of the large river.

† This settlement is known to the Chinese as Ngao-mun (easily rendered as Ng'aomuny = Omy). It was established by the Portuguese in 1557 and long remained the centre of foreign trade with China, previous to the establishment of Hong Kong by the British in 1842.

‡ Macao. The Portuguese town stands on a small peninsula projecting from the south-east end of Hiang-shaw island. The peninsula is nearly two miles long, less than a mile wide at its broadest part, and is connected with the island by a low narrow sandy isthmus, across which extends a barrier wall to exclude foreigners from the island. The inner harbour is formed between the peninsula and Patera Island. Its entrance is narrow; this is the

to anchor; but as I did not think it necessary to lose time in superfluous ceremonies, I entered the harbour, and anchored at last, near a frigate of forty guns, in four fathom water. As soon as I had brought to, I saluted the Admiral's colours with twenty-four guns, and he answered with twelve.

I went on shore immediately after, and passing near the Commodore, I paid him a visit. On my arrival at the Governor's I was introduced into the hall, which I found full of priests and monks, among whom I perceived several negroes from the Canary Islands. After some time the Governor, M. de Saldagna, arrived and received me with the greatest politeness. When I had acquainted him with my misfortunes and my deliverance, he gave me permission to hire houses in the town to accommodate my people till I could find a favourable opportunity of conveying them to Europe. Several persons of the magistracy who were present expressed some suspicions of me; for which reason, to prevent debates, I thought proper to put my vessel as a deposit in the hands of the Governor, reserving only for each of my companions the necessary arms, such as guns, pistols, and swords, which I likewise deposited in the castle. After this convention the Governor charged M. Hiss, a gentleman of French extraction, but settled at Macao for some years, to assist me in my affairs, and serve as interpreter. At six p.m. the guard having come on board I caused all my people to go on shore. For the first day my companions lodged in a public-house, and the excess and avidity with which they devoured the bread and fresh provisions which they were now supplied with cost thirteen of them their lives. These died suddenly, and twenty-four others were seized with dangerous illness.

September the 23rd. M. Hiss having found two convenient houses I hired them, and went to reside in them with my companions. This day I dined with the Governor, in company with a number of priests, who from that moment aspired to the glory of converting my associates to the Roman religion. On my return home I found all my people commodiously

"pass" mentioned by Benyowsky, opposite the fort San Iago, or Barra, which is built on the south-west point—the fort which the Count mentions he saluted.

lodged, and an apartment completely fitted up for myself, the Governor having supplied the furniture out of his own house. I employed this day in making visits to the Bishop of Mitelopolis, the Procureur of the town, the different convents, and principal inhabitants. I likewise gave orders to clothe my companions uniformly, in red and white, as well as the officers; and the Portuguese ladies undertook to provide the apparel for our female fellow travellers. When the accounts were made up these charges were estimated at eight thousand piastres, and the monthly expense for lodging and provisions amounted to six thousand two hundred piastres.

On the 24th I received visits from the Governor and the principal men of the town, as well as from the Bishop, accompanied with the different religious orders. These all together accompanied me to the Hoppo, or Chinese Governor, who regaled us with tea and sweetmeats. This day three more of my associates died, and their conversion was published throughout the town. In the evening a Dominican priest, and friend of the Governor, named Zunitta, came to me and offered every assistance in his power; and as I thought I might dispose of my furs by his assistance, I proposed the business to him, and he consented to take them. I therefore put into his hands four hundred and eighty beaver skins, five hundred sables, and one hundred and eighty dozen ermines; and he agreed to pay me for each beaver fifty piastres, for each sable six piastres, and for every dozen of ermines eight piastres, which produced the sum of twenty-eight thousand four hundred and forty piastres; the whole and only remains of so considerable a fortune as I had brought from Kamchatka! a scanty pittance, scarcely enough to pay the expenses of putting into Macao.

This day, likewise, I gave orders to release Mr. Stephanow from his confinement, having received a formal apology on his part. The town made me, on the same day, a present of one thousand piastres in gold, with forty-two pieces of blue cloth and twelve pieces of black satin. Their present was accompanied with a request that I would deposit a copy of my journal in their archives. I promised the deputies that I would give them an historical extract, as I could not act so much to the prejudice of my own interests as to deprive myself of the merit

of my manuscripts. This day I dined with the Bishop of Mitelopolis, Mr. le Bon, of French extraction, and I agreed with him that I would claim the protection of the French flag for my passage to Europe, in which he promised me his advice and assistance.

On the 25th Miss Aphanasia paid the debt of nature. Her premature death affected me greatly, and more especially as it deprived me of the satisfaction of repaying her attachment, by her marriage with the young Popow, son of the Archimandrite, to whom I had given the surname of my family. This day I despatched Mr. Crustiew with letters to the Directors of the French Company, containing my reclamation of the protection of the colours of his Most Christian Majesty. He returned on the 29th, and brought me a very favourable answer, and the assurance of my passage, which news was very acceptable to me.

At Macao, October the 3rd, 1771. A certain Mr. Gohr, captain in the service of the English Company, came to see me, and made me offer of services on the part of the Directors, and a free passage to Europe, provided I would bind myself to entrust my manuscripts to the Company, and engage to enter into their service, and make no communication of the discoveries I had made. This proposition, so evidently interested, disgusted me; but I was contented to answer that I was very sensible of the obliging offer he had made, but that as I had accepted those of the French Directors it was not in my power to change my determination: that with respect to my entering into the service of the Company, it did not appear to me to be so easy, because it was not only necessary that I should be assured of a superior station, but that in the meantime all my people should be provided for, and that our common lot, and the execution of several projects should be secured. My answer surprised Mr. Ghor, who took his leave in an affected manner. The moment after his departure I learned that Mr. Stephanow had accompanied him, and from thence I inferred that I should still find new causes of discontent on his part, which accordingly happened, as will appear in the sequel.

On the 4th of October I received a letter from Mr. L'Heu-

reux, Director* for the Dutch Company. He sent me a present of cloth, wine, beer, brandy, salt provisions, and two thousand piastres. His letter and presents were accompanied with the offer of a passage for me to Batavia, and the assurance that I should be received into the Company's service. But as he made the same proposal as the English I refused the acceptance of his presents except the liquors.

On the 6th Mr. Jackson, an English merchant established at Macoa, arrived with Mr. Beyz. They renewed the propositions made by Mr. Gohr, and showed me full powers, signed by the English Council at Canton, to regulate the conditions of my engagement, and to offer a present of fifteen thousand guineas. The first *sine qua non* was, that the Company, in consideration of my consigning my manuscripts, and entering into their service, should grant me a pension of four thousand pounds sterling, reversible to my children, and that they should settle on each officer a pension of one hundred pounds, and each associate thirty pounds, and that they should give me every assistance in forming establishments beyond China. On this first condition the plenipotentiaries acknowledged that they had not sufficient authority to conclude with me, and retired, after begging that I would well consider their offers. This evening the Governor informed me that the four English gentlemen had been with him, and that he thought several of my associates were gained by the English. In fact, these gentlemen, piqued at their want of success, raised embarrassments among my people, in which Mr. Stephanow was of wonderful service to them.

On the 12th I received a letter from Mr. de Robien, Director of the French Company at Canton, wherein he informed me that two of the Company's ships, the *Dauphin* and the *Laverdi*, were ready to receive me and all my people on board. The same day Mr. Kuzneczow informed me that he had discovered a plot, at the head of which was Stephanow, who had engaged to deliver my journals and papers to the English for the sum of five thousand pounds sterling; and to prove the fact he showed me a letter of Mr. Jackson, wherein that merchant asserted that Messrs. Gohr, Hume, and Beg, were

* Or supercargo.

ready to pay the sum on the delivery of all my papers. On this information I took all my papers out of my chest, and put them into the hands of the Archbishop of Mitelopolis, unperceived by any of my companions.

On the 15th the associates met by my order. I informed them that I was assured that a number among them were discontented with me, for which reason I thought proper to declare to them that all those who were desirous of seeking their fortunes elsewhere, were at liberty to quit me, and that as they had all received a retribution at my hands at the island of Formosa, I thought myself acquitted from them. I had scarcely made a finish before Mr. Stephanow loaded me with invectives, and charged me with an intention of depriving the company of their share of the advantages I was about to receive from the knowledge I had acquired during the voyage; and that the moderation I had shown at Formosa, in delivering my share of the presents of Prince Huapo, was merely a scheme to deprive them of greater advantages. He then excited the companions to throw off my authority by assuring them that he would secure them a large fortune the instant they should determine to put my papers in his hands and follow his party. The infamous plot of this wretch was nothing extraordinary, but when I understood that he was supported by Mr. Wynbladth, my ancient major, the companion of my exile, and my friend, I was incapable of setting bounds to my indignation, and could not avoid declaring that their proceedings were highly disgraceful, and to confound them I displayed their secret projects to the company, and justified my words by showing Mr. Jackson's letter, which convinced them that Messrs. Stephanow and Wynbladth, under pretence of serving the company, were desirous of securing the five thousand pounds to their own use. They were highly irritated, and threatened them; but Stephanow preserved a party of eleven, with whom he went to my lodgings, and while I remained in conversation with my friends he seized my box, in which he supposed my papers were deposited. As soon as I heard of this outrage I went to his chamber, followed by twenty associates, and as he refused to open the door, I broke it down. On my entrance he fired a

pistol at me, which missed. In consequence of this attempt I gave orders for seizing and keeping him in strict confinement; and as it was necessary likewise to secure Mr. Wynbladth, I went to his chamber, but he had retired into the garden armed with a pair of pistols and a sabre. I determined to shut him in, being convinced that he could not get over the walls on account of their great height. This whole affair passed without the least alarm without, as the doors of the house were shut.

On the 16th Mr. Wynbladth, fatigued by a continual rain, and perhaps urged by hunger, requested forgiveness, and surrendered himself to two companions I had appointed to watch him. Having thus made sure of these two turbulent men, I thought it proper they should be separated from the company; and they were therefore conducted to the castle by permission of the Governor. The officers of our company, being desirous of avenging themselves on the English emissaries, played them a trick, the whole effect of which fell upon a Jewish agent, who was severely flogged. Upon this wretch there were found minutes of proposals which he made to the companions, as follow:

1. That the English would pay to each associate one thousand piastres, in case they would serve the company, and put my papers in his hands.

2. That in case the associates refused to take the English party, the company would arrest them by force, in the name of the Empress of Russia, to deliver them up.

3. That the company would answer for obtaining the Empress's pardon for them, if they would determine to make a voyage to Japan and the Aleuthes Islands.

Such proceedings cannot be attributed to men of sense. It was in my opinion a forgery, concerted between Mr. Stephanow and the Jew to excite the associates against me.

On the 22nd I was attacked by a violent fever, and the Governor had the goodness to offer me an apartment in his house. I accepted his offer with the more pleasure as the noise of my companions was insupportable. I therefore entrusted the command this day to Mr. Crustiew, and retired to the Governor's, where my illness continued till the 18th of November. During this period four of my associates and three

of their women died. The following is a list of those who died at Macao :—

Miss Aphanasia du Nilow,
Messrs. Maxim Csurin,
Asaph Baturin,
Philip Zablikow,
Nicolas Perevalow,
John Perevalow
The Wife of Perevalow,
Andrew Maschinskoy,
George Panow
Gregory Novozilow,
Stephen Kazakow,
Alexander Ziran,
Messrs. George Nolinkin,
George Voronow,
Alexis Juska,
Catherine Kusmika,
Alexis Zacharka,
Boleslaus Sipskoy,
Laurence Chodin,
Prince Zadskoy,
Nicolas Zarskoy
Casimir Levantiew,
James Lubimoy.

The great number of deaths in so short a time gave me a very unfavourable opinion of the climate of China, at least of the southern provinces of the empire.

On the 25th of November the Governor, seeing my health established, and being determined to lodge me in future among my companions, informed me that during my illness he had had great debates with the Chinese on my account, because the English Directors had informed them that I was a pirate and deserter from the Russians, and that upon this information the Governor or Viceroy of Canton had required the Governor to deliver me up, or at all events to make me depart immediately, and that he had obtained a delay till my recovery. For this reason he advised me to pretend that my illness still continued, until the time the French vessels should be ready to sail. From his embarrassment I perceived he was apprehensive that he might find my affair troublesome to himself. I therefore begged him to remain neuter, and undertook to terminate the business with the Chinese myself.

On the 26th I secretly despatched Mr. Hiss and Mr. Crustiew to Canton with a memorial for the Viceroy, and a letter for Mr. Robien, in order that he might present it at the audience of the Chinese chief.

My deputies did not return till the 3rd of December, when

they brought me a chopp, or permission to wait upon the Viceroy at Canton. This imperial officer sent a superb vessel with sixty-four oars for me, and caused a letter to be written to me, importing that he was informed of the falsity of the insinuations against me, and hoped to convince me of the justice which the Chinese knew how to render to heroes like me. This disposition was very flattering, but my satisfaction was of short duration, for on the 5th, which was fixed for my departure, the Mandarin, Hoppo of Macao, let me know that if I did not intend to travel as far as Pekin, it was of no use to go to Canton, as the Viceroy had nothing to communicate. This sudden change surprised every one, and especially the Bishop of Mitelopolis, who was strongly interested in my favour. I was in doubt with myself this day whether I should go to Pekin. I was greatly affected; for I should have been exceedingly gratified with the view of the capital and interior parts of the Chinese empire, and a favourable opportunity now presented itself; but to have embraced it would have required me to abandon my project and defer my return to Europe. It was not till after much deliberation that I at last determined to give up my intention of going to Canton.

On the 6th of December my Japanese traveller appeared again, having suffered an illness of ten weeks. His recovery was very agreeable to me, as his person interested me strongly. This day, upon examining my chests, I found that the collections I had made of various kinds in the course of my voyages, had disappeared, and I at last heard, to my extreme grief, that Stephanow and Wynbladth had sold the whole to the English Jew. I immediately sent after him, but the rascal had retired after his correction to Canton. Mr. Sibaew assured me that the Jew had bought the whole for one thousand five hundred piastres, whereas the pearls alone which I had were worth five times that sum.

On the 7th the Bishop of Mitelopolis informed me that he was informed by the secretary of the Hoppo (a Christian in secret) that the declaration of his master was false, and that the Viceroy was angry at not seeing me. He attributed this conduct to the intrigues of Mr. Jackson, and endeavoured to persuade me to write another memorial to the Viceroy, but as

I thought this step of no advantage to my interests, I refused to comply with his advice, being contented with being permitted to remain undisturbed at Macao.

On the 10th I assembled all my companions, and proposed to them to embark on board the French ships, in order to return to Europe. They consented, and submitted entirely to my orders. This day, having received the apology and entreaties of Mr. Wynbladth, I released him from confinement, but as I could not place the same confidence in Mr. Stephanow, I paid him four thousand piastres, with leave to go where he pleased. He immediately took part with the Hollanders, whose director, M. L'Heureux, expecting to derive some information from him concerning our voyage, received him and sent him to Batavia.

On the 20th I gave orders to make every preparation for our departure, having this day received the conventions, signed between me and the Captain, M. de St. Hilaire, in the service of the French East India Company. These conventions were ratified by M. Robis,* Director of the Company, in which I engaged to pay the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand livres Tournois for the passage of myself and all my people to L'Orient.

On the 26th, having received information that it was necessary I should be provided with a chopp, or order of the Viceroy, to permit me to enter the river Tigu, I sent Mr. Hiss, as my commissioner for that purpose, to the Viceroy.

January the 1st, 1772. Mr. Hiss returned with the order, which cost me four hundred and fifty piastres for three boats, which had been permitted to carry myself and people to the mouth of the Tigu.

On the 2nd I sold my vessel to a Portuguese merchant for the sum of four thousand five hundred piastres ready money, and as much on credit. The Governor reserved to himself the whole of the stores.

From the 5th to the 12th I was employed in liquidating my accounts; and after having settled everything, I found myself totally destitute. On the 13th I took my leave of the Governor

* Robien is the name of the Director mentioned page 384, where it is written in the MS. in the Count's handwriting.—T.

and chiefs of the town; and in the evening I embarked on board three sampans, with all my people, to go on board the French vessels, which were appointed to receive us at the time of their leaving the harbour of Canton.

On the 14th we quitted Macao, where the Governor saluted me with twenty-one guns from the principal fortress; and after a tedious passage we arrived at last at the mouth of the Tigu,* where we were very civilly received by a Mandarin, though he at first refused to permit us to go on shore. The sight of a purse of piastres, however, abated his severity, which was so much altered by this circumstance that he offered permission for us to take lodgings in the fort. His complaisance was very acceptable, for the ships did not arrive till the 22nd; and in the meantime I was at liberty to ride out on horseback, accompanied by some Tartars.

On the 22nd we at last saw the two ships, the first of which was the *Dauphin*, of fifty-four guns, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Hilaire, on board which I embarked with half my people; and the second was the *Laverdi*, of fifty guns, which received the other half. After our embarkation we sailed for the Isle of France.

On the 27th we passed the English bank,† on which we had soundings at thirty-six fathoms, sand and broken shells.

On the 4th of February we crossed the equator.

On the 6th, in the Straits,‡ we joined a Spanish armed frigate, named the *Pallas*, and on the 16th of March we arrived safely at the Isle of France. My arrival here was so much the more agreeable, as I was perfectly tired of the many questions

* The French ships seem to have been anchored in the Canton or Pearl river, the entrance of which is divided by the Wantong Islands into two channels, the eastern of which, Boca Tigris, is generally used by large ships. N.W.$\frac{1}{2}$N., 1$\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the east end of North Wantong is the Tiger's Claw, the south-east extremity of Tiger Island, a remarkably high island, called by the Chinese Ty-fu, the summit of which appears cleft. It is evidently this passage which Benyowsky speaks of as the mouth of the Tigu.

† Captain Becher, R.N., writes: "A ship leaving Macao, bound to the southward, against the monsoon, should work down for the Macclesfield Bank, between meridians 116$\frac{1}{2}$ and 119$\frac{1}{2}$. This is probably the 'English Bank' mentioned by the Count."

‡ Most likely the Straits of Sunda.

the French proposed to me respecting my discoveries during my former voyage. This voyage gave me an ample knowledge of the predominant character of a nation to which I shall probably attach myself in future. As soon as we came to anchor, and the Governor, the Chevalier de Roche,* was informed that I was on board, he sent a boat belonging to the government to bring me on shore. On my entrance into the town I was received with military honours, and had the pleasure to be very amicably received by the Governor, who offered to accommodate me in his own house. I accepted this friendly offer with great satisfaction; more especially as I hoped that his experience would be of service to me in directing my conduct with regard to the French Court and Ministry. After a day's repose the Governor invited me to accompany him in his excursions upon the island; and these little journeys made me acquainted with some of the interests of the French government, though I could never agree to call this establishment a colony; for the Isle of France can never be made anything more than a military post.

The arrival of Lieutenant Kerguelin was a great relief to me. For this navigator, having returned from a voyage to the southern lands, gave employment to all the politicians and idle talkers of the island, who before his appearance had no other object but myself. I became acquainted with this officer, but from what I had myself seen in the North, I could not believe that he had discovered such agreeable countries as he asserted to exist on his Southern continent.

On the 1st of April the Captain acquainted me that he intended to depart on the 4th, and I got ready my little accommodations by the generous assistance of the Governor, who lent me a sum of money. On the 4th, having taken my leave, I embarked; and the Governor, with all the officers, paid me a visit on board. In the evening we set sail.

On the 12th we anchored at the Island of Madagascar, where I went on shore at Fort Dauphin. Some particulars of information I had received from the Governor of the Isle of France, induced me to wish for more ample information

* Should be the Chevalier des Roches, who was Governor of the Islands of France and Bourbon, with M. Pierre Poivre as his coadjutor and intendant.

respecting this fine and extensive island; but unfortunately for this purpose, I could not prolong my stay, but went on board again on the 14th.

On the 27th we doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 24th of May we saw two English vessels in the latitude of St. Helena, and on the 18th of July we happily arrived at the Isle de Croix. As soon as we had come to, I sent an officer to the Lieutenant du Roy, at Port Louis, who permitted me and all my people to lodge there.

On the 19th I went on shore, and was very politely received by the Commandant, who agreed to send a courier to the Minister with my packets, which I addressed to the Duc D'Aiguillon.

On the 2nd of August I received an invitation from the Duc D'Aiguillon, which was brought by a messenger of state.

On the 8th of August I arrived in Champagne, where the Minister then was, who received me with cordiality and distinction, and proposed to me to enter into the service of his master, with the offer of a regiment of infantry; which I accepted, on condition that his Majesty would be pleased to employ me in forming establishments beyond the Cape. In France, likewise, I had the happiness to find my uncle, the Count de Benyow, Commandant of the castle and town of Bar, Commander of the Royal Order of St. Lazare, and Chevalier de St. Louis. The assistance of this worthy relation and the benevolence of his Majesty put me in a condition to send an express into Hungary to inquire after my spouse and child. She arrived at the end of the year, but she had the misfortune to see her son expire at the instant of the arrival of my courier—an event which was the more affecting, as I was then in a situation to provide for him very advantageously in France. In the course of the month of December the Duke D'Aiguillon proposed to me, from his Majesty, to form an establishment on the island of Madagascar upon the same footing as I had proposed upon the island Formosa; and I at last complied with the desire of this Minister, to whom I shall be ever bound in gratitude, as well as personal esteem and attachment.

FINIS.

INDEX.

Acapulco, 15
Achilles, the name given to Miss Aphanasid du Nilow, 249
Adventures of the scribe, Ryumin, 25
African Island, the great, 20
Aguillon, Duc d', 21
Anadir, in north-east Siberia, 269
Aladar, Baron d', title assumed by Benyowsky, 16
Aladar, Bay of, 269
Alaide Island, 191
Alaska, 14, 15
Alaskina, Cape of, 267
Albert, Duke of Saxony, 17, 29
Aleuthes, the; or Aleuthian Islands, 15, 110
Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, 27
America, Benyowsky's expedition to, 21
America sighted by Benyowsky, 269
Amsterdam, voyage to by Benyowsky, 55
Andreanow, Alexi, an associate, 257
Angara River, 100
Ansigonono, one of the Kurile Islands, 191
"Anson's Voyages," volume of in Benyowsky's possession, 16, 123
Antongil Bay, in Madagascar, 20
Apachazana, Cape, 263
Apostolic Royal Imperial Majesty, the Queen of Hungary, 17
Apraxin, General of Russians, 61
Archbishop of Mitelopolis, M. Le Bon, 385
Astronomers, Japanese, 314
Astronomy in Japan, 313
Atlas of Cook's voyages, plates from, 18
Augustus von Kotzebue, 27
Austria and Prussia, Seven Years' War, 53
Austria, History of the House of, by Coxe, 54
Austrian Biographical Dictionary, 25
Austrians, loss of, at Lobositz, 53
Auteroche, the Abbé M. Chappe d', History of Siberia, 51

Baikal, Lake, 100
Bajdara, species of hut, 115
Baltimore, in United States, Benyowsky visits, 21
Bamini, the Formosan General, 365
Banks, Sir Joseph, doubts of, 33
Bar, Confederation of, 63
Barlow, Mr. Nathaniel, of Macao, 16
Bassee, Island of, 16
Baturin, Asaph, Colonel of Russian Artillery, an exile and associate of Benyowsky, 91, 124, 187, 252
Baturin, death of, 387
Bayarew, an exile distrusted by the associates, 188
Baydars, boats in North Pacific, 186
Bear-hunting, 136, 137
Beavers, 111
Beg, Mr., one of the English council at Canton, 384
Behring, Captain, 109; journal of, 141
Behring's Straits, 15; Island, 253, 255
Benyowsky, Mauritius Augustus, Count; birth of, 53; parentage, *ib.*; becomes a lieutenant in Hungarian army, *ib.*; serves in the Seven Years' War, 54; repairs to Poland, *ib.*;

returns to Hungary, 55; treated as a rebel, *ib.*; voyages to Plymouth, &c., 55; joins the confederacy of Polish Catholics at Warsaw, 56; appointed Colonel-General Commander of Cavalry at Cracow, 57; takes possession of Landskron, 59; commands an army against the Russians, 61 *et seq.*; taken prisoner at Szuka, 79; taken to Kiow, 81; escapes to Petersburg with Major Wynbladth, 85; sent to Siberia, 91; arrives at Tomszky, 98; at Ochoczk, 109; goes by sea to Kamschatka, 114, 115; becomes schoolmaster, 129; escapes from Kamschatka, 252; arrives at Urumusir, 273; reaches the Island of Liquor, 296; anchors in a bay on coast of Japan, 305; cast ashore on Island of Usmay Ligon, 331; moors his vessel on coast of Formosa, 349; enters harbour of Macao, 380; leaves China, 390; arrives in France, 392
Beresford's translation of Kotzebue's autobiography, 28
Bielski, Casimir, a Polish starost, 135, 187
Bishop of Cracovia, 17, 18
——— Le Bon, of Mitelopolis, 17, 382 *et seq.*
Bolsha, the river, in Kamschatka, 114
Bolsheretzkoi, ostrog, 19, 116, 235
Bongo, in Japan, 16
Boscarew, an exile and associate, 148, 252
Brettschreider, 25
Brin, M. de, 101
British Museum, MSS. Memoirs of Benyowsky in the, 22
Bonzes, Japanese priests, 313
Brandorp, Julian, a Swede, 135, 188
Broun, Marshal, 53 *et seq.*

Cagliostro, 30
California, 40, 110
Canton, 14, 15 *et seq.*
Captains Clarke, Cook, Gore, King, 14, 18, 24
Carlyle, 30
Casan, 14; Benyowsky prisoner at, 82
Casarinow, a merchant, 130; accused of poisoning, 145
Casimir, Mr., 157
Catherine II., Empress of Russia, 15, 27
Catherine, Saint, the ship, 203
Catholic confederates of Poland, 14; banner of, 57
Chancellor, the, Novozilow, 127, 156
Charlevoix, Père de, 310
Chevalier des Roches, 18, 391
China, escape to, proposed, 97
Chinese Governor, or Hoppo, of Canton, 382
Charts made by Baturin, 159
Chodin, Lawrence, an associate, dies at Macao, 387
Chotim, Bacha of, 75 *et seq.*
Confederates, Catholic, of Poland, 14, 31; banner of, 57
Contrathimaitre, 252, 253
Compass falsified by magnet, 114
Committee of associates formed, 124
Coxe's account of discoveries in Siberia, 15
Coxe's History of Poland, Austria, and Russia, 54
Colony of exiles projected at Lopatka, 160
Cross erected in Behring's Isle, 262
Council, English, at Canton, attempt to purchase Benyowsky's information, 384
Crustiew's, Count, 120, 121, 124, 188, 252
Csecservin, Lieut.-General of Police, 86
Csecservin, Count Denis, Governor of Tobolsk, 93
Csulosnikow, a merchant, 134, 138, 142
Csurin, Maxim, Captain of *Peter and Paul*, 252; death of, 387
Csurin, John, brother of above, dies by poison, 135, 145
Csorni, Ivan, 163
Cusma, or Kuzma, 134
Cusma Islands, 48
Cusmina, Sergeant, 163
Czanguzko, Catholic Bishop, 15
Czarneczky, Marshal, 84

Dairy, or Spiritual Emperor of Japan, 314
Dampier's visit to Bashee Island, 37
Dauphin, Fort, in Madagascar, 391
Dauphin, the French ship which took Benyowsky to Europe, 41; commanded by the Chevalier de St. Hilaire, 390
Davis's Quadrant, 45
Des Roches, the Chevalier, Governor

of the Isles of France and Bourbon, 391
Desima Island, at Nagasaki, 29
Director of the French Company at Canton, 384
Director of the Dutch Company, 383
Dissidents, and the Confederation of Bar, 63
Dominican Priest, Zunitta, 382
Domstadt, battle of, 54
Douglas, R. K., Professor, of the British Museum, notes by, 307, 315
Drama of Benyowsky, by Kotzebue, 27
Dresden, 52
Drusinin, Alexei, of Kursk, 47
Dutch Company at Canton, 383
Dutch traders in the East, 15; in Japan, 29, 314, 323
Dzignaro, 336

East India Companies, 15
Ebeling's edition of Benyowsky's "Memoirs," 25
Elegance of Japanese domestic arrangements, 317
Elks, or reindeer, used for drawing sledges in Siberia, 103, 104
Emperor of Japan, 313
English Company at Canton and Macao, 383
Esuryn, Sieur, 112
Europe, rank held by Benyowsky in, 209
Europeans, treatment of, in Japan, 313
Exchange of furs for gold and porcelain in Japan, 320
Exiles, law about releasing, in Siberia and Kamschatka, 151
Exiles, reception of, in Kamschatka, 116

Fiskin, pseudonym of Baron Klusewsky in Siberia, 259
Forestaff, a, 45
Formosa, arrival of Benyowsky's ship on coast of, 347
Formosa, operations of, 348; against natives, 367
Forster, Johann Reinhold, edition of Benyowsky's "Memoirs" by, 25
France, Isle of, Benyowsky arrives at,
Franciscan Order, worthies of, at Macao, 15
Franklin, Benjamin, a supporter of Benyowsky in France and America, 21
French Bishop of Mitelopolis, M. Le Bon, 382
French Company, 383
French ships, Benyowsky's party taken in, to Europe, 41, 384, 390
Funikata, probably Usilpatchar, 316

Galliot, the *St. Peter and St. Paul*, 15
Garlic, curious use of; probable mistranslation,
Gentleman's Magazine, the, 14
Gohr, Mr.; English captain, at Canton, 383
Gore, Captain, 18, 24
Greek Church, 253
Gurcsinin, Andrew, an exile and associate, 135, 252

Hadley's quadrant, 45; Hyacinth de Magellan's work on quadrants, octants, and sextants, *ib.*
Halavith, a brook in Formosa, 368
Hamburgh, Benyowsky voyages to, 55
Hapuasingo, a rival prince to Huapo, in Formosa, 369
Heath, Mr., the engraver, 22, 23; engravings and plates lost in fire at house of, *ib.*
Hensky, Mr., daughter of, married by Benyowsky, 57
Hiss, Mr., interpreter, 331
Hettman of Cossacks, Kolosow, 161
Heureux, M. L', Director for the Dutch Company at Canton, 383
Hieronimo, Don, in Formosa, 351, 368 *et seq.*
Hoffman, Dr., an associate, 102; death of, 104, 105
Hollanders in Japan, religion of, 314
Hoppo, or Chinese Governor, or Mandarin of Macao, 382
Huapo, prince in Formosa, 385
Hume, Mr., an English merchant at Canton, 384
Hungary, 53
Hyassak, or tribute paid by exiles in Kamschatka, 118

Indians, at Formosa; they attack Benyowsky's party, massacre of, 353, 355
Ignatio Salis, Father, 332 *et seq.*
Illimsk, 100
Incense, used in making oath at Formosa, 365

Islands: Alaide, 191; Aleuthes, or Aleutian, 15, 110; Ansigonone, 191; Bassee, 16; Behring's, 253, 255; Cusma, 48; Desima, 29; Formosa, 347; Japan, 306; Jedzo, 36; Kuriles, or Kurelles, 19; Luconia, or Luzon, 20, 123; Liquor, or Liqueio, 37, 296; Liu-Kiu, 45; Nipon, 16, 311; Pribiloff, 37; Saghalien, 113; Simusir, 49; Mareekan, 49; Urumusir, 271
Isle de Croix, 392
Isle of France, 41
Ismailow, General 69 *et seq.*
Ismailow or Ismyloff, Erasim Gregorioff, Sin, an exile and associate, 18; meets Captain King at Oonalaska, 18
Ivaskin, Mr., an associate, 184, 185

Jackson, Mr. an English merchant of Macao, 384
Jakutszk, 101
Janko, Dr. John, an Hungarian author, his researches in Benyowsky literature, 26, 27
Japan, reached, 306;
Jedzo, Island of, 36
Jenisea River, 99
Jókai, Maurus, the celebrated Hungarian author, his great modern book on Benyowsky, 26, 28, 49
Judoma, village of, 108
Jukola, a native preparation of salt fish by Siberian tribes, 171
Juska, Alexis, an exile and associate, dies at Macao, 387
Juska, Krasnoiarszk, a village on the Jenisea, 99

Kadik Island, 271
Kaluga, 18
Kaminietz, 17
Kamschatka, 110
Kazakow, Stephen, an exile and associate, dies at Macao, 387
Kerguelen, Lieut., his voyage in southern hemisphere, 20
Kilingur, in Japan, 311
King, Captain James, R.N., 18
Kiowe, Bishop of, 15 *et seq.*; Benyowsky taken prisoner to, 80
Klusewsky, Baron (known as Fiskin in Siberia), at Jakutzk, 259
Kolossow, Hettman of Cossacks, 35, 161
Koraks, 109
Korea, coast of, 114
Korosilow, Sieur, Captain, owner of *St. Peter and Paul*, 112
Kostromin, an associate, 253
Kotzebue, Augustus von, famous dramatist, sent to Siberia, writes a play on Benyowsky's escape, 27
Krascheninnikow's description of Kamschatka, 51
Krasitnikow, a merchant, 188
Krenitzin's voyage, 110, 203
Kropf, Mr. Lewis, of the Folk-Lore Society, an authority on Hungarian literature, 25
Krussova, 55
Kudin, Ivan, 166; or Kudrin, 172, 208; sent to murder Levantiew, 208
Kumin, Aphanasi, captain of Cossacks, 135
Kurelles, or Kurile Islands, 19, 191, 253
Kusmika, Catherine, maid of Aphanasia du Nilow, and wife of Sergeant Kusma, dies at Macao, 387
Kuzneczow, Demetrius, a free Russian merchant, 135, 187

Ladrone Islands, 123
Laffert, Baron, 260
Landscron, fortress of, said to have been taken by Benyowsky, 58
Lapin, master of a ship, 139, 148
Lapin, Mr., 238; his knowledge of surgery, 245
Lapkin, George, 166, 188
Larac, fruit of, 171
Laverdi, the French ship, 41, 390
Lena, River, 100, 101
Levantiew, Casimir, an associate, 172; murdered by Benyowsky's order, 173, 174
Levantiew, cousin of above, an associate, dies at Macao, 387
Levascheff, Captain, voyage of, 110, 203
Lieutenant de Roi at Port Louis, 392
Liqucio, Island; Liquor or Liquoris, 24, 37, 296
Lithuania, 54 *et seq.*
Liu-Kiu, Islands of, 45
Lobczow, Colonel Gregory, 34, 135, 187
Lobositz, or Lowositz, battle of, 53
Loginow, John, an exile and associate, 187, 252; killed in Formosa, 355

Lopatka, colony of exiles near Cape, 160; journey to, 191; name of new colony, Nilovaga, 206
Lubinoy, James, an exile and associate, dies at Macoo, 387
Lublaw, castle of; Benyowsky made a prisoner in, 62
Luconia, or Luzon, one of the Philippine Islands, 20, 123

Macao, Portuguese colony in China, 14 *et seq.*; Benyowsky arrives at, 380 *et seq.*; Chinese Governor of 382; Benyowsky leaves port of, 390
Madagascar, 20, 21, 391
Magellan, M. Hyacinth de, 18, 21; description of octants by, 45
Manilla, 15, 123
Mangkia or Banca, on Tamsuy River, Formosa, 371
Mareekan, Island of, identical with Simusir, one of the Kurile Islands, 49
Marian Island, 16, 19, 123
Marine States of Malta, 46
Maschinskoy, Andrew, an exile and associate, dies at Macao, 387
Maurice, Port so-called in Formosa, 353
Meaco-Sima, 38
Meder, Magnus, 135, 174, 187, 244, 252
Miako, 314
Mikado, 314
Mimam, or Mimami, a Christian martyr in Japan, 327
Mimas, or gentlemen of Japan (*Daimios?*), 328
Moscow, 91
Muchomor, infusion of, 277
Munchausen, Baron, 21

Namgu, or Namqu, probably, Nangoya in Japan, 16
Nangasaki, 16
Narin, Lieut. (or Norin), 35
Natolia, Bacha of, 74 *et seq.*
Nicholas, Mr., a Tonquin Captain, of Liu-Kiu Islands, 337
Nicholson, William, F.R.S., editor of Benyowsky's "Memoirs," 16 *et seq.*
Nipon, Island of, 16, 311
Niloff, or Nilow, Governor of Kamschatka, murdered by Panow, 29, 118, 236
Nilovoqa, name of new colony near Lopatka, 207
Nittria, in Hungary; Verbowa in, 53
Nizney Novgorod, 91
Nogais Tartars, 95
Nolinkin, George, exile and associate, dies at Macao, 387
Norin (or Narin), lieutenant of garrison, commanding at Nizney Ostrog, 35, 140, 171
Novozilow, Gregory, an associate, dies at Macao, 387
Novozilow, the Russian Chancellor in Kamschatka, cousin of above, 156, 188

Oath of company formed by associate exiles under Benyowsky, 102
Ochotyn, Jean, 36, 47; at Behring's Isle, 255; wife of, at Oonalaska, 276
Ochoczk or Okhotsk, 17, 103, 109
Omy, the Chinese name for Macao, 380
Oonalashka, Island of, 18, 19,
Order of St. Lazare, Commander of, the Count de Benyow, 392
Original Company of Associates, 103
Orlof, 32
Ostrog, a small fortified station, 52, 116
Otcheredin, probably identical with Ochotyn, 47
Ottlaskow, Mr., 165
Owari Bay, in Japan, 16, 51

Pacheco, Don Hieronimo, Captain of the port of Cavith at Manilla, 351
Paez, M., Bishop of Kiowe, 15
Panin, Count, 57, 88 *et seq.*
Panow, George, exile and associate, 253; death of, 387
Panow, Vasili Vassilies, leader of the conspiracy and murderer of Governor Nilow, 29, 91, 124, 236; killed in Formosa, 355
Parenczin, a Kamchadale carpenter, and wife, 139, 253
Paul, Emperor of Russia, 27
Perevalow, John, dies at Macao, 387
———, Nicholas, dies at Macao, 387; wife of, *ib.*,
Pescadores, or Piscatoria Islands, 38
Pesci, species of Arctic fox, 111
Poivre, M. Pierre; Intendant of Mauritius, 391
Poland, civil war in, 14 *et seq.*; colours of Republic of, hoisted by Benyowsky's ship, 347

Polone, Benyowsky imprisoned at, 80
Popow, John, exile and associate, 253; killed in Formosa, 355
Popow, Levan'e, 135
Piatzinin, Andrew, exile and associate, 135; murdered by associates, 146
Piatzinin, a Cossack of same name, *ib.*
Plenisner, Commandant of Okhotsk, 104
Poromusir, Island of, 191
Pribiloff Islands, 37
Professor R. K. Douglas, 307, 315
Proscurakow, Mr., 165
Port Louis, Lieutenant du Roi of, 392
Protestants in Poland, 14 *et seq.*
Protopop, Alexis, an archdeacon of the Greek Church, 135, 188
Puskarew, Mr., 185, 187, 188

QUADRANT, 16; Davis's, 45; Hadley's *ib.*; M. de Magellan on, *ib.*
Queen of Hungary, Maria Theresa, 14

RADZIWIL, Prince, heads confederacy of Catholics in Poland, 55
Religion of Benyowsky, 211
Revay, Baroness of, 53
Revel, 27
Ribnikow, Mr., 165
Robien, M. de, of the French Company at Canton, 39, 384 *et seq.*
Rochon, the Abbé Alexis, 18, 30, 38
Roscurakow, 130
Roszomak, an animal of Siberia, 103, 111
Rzsevuzky, Prince, 15
Rubatow, Nicholas, 166
Ruimin, or Ryumin the scribe, 25, 29, 187

SAGHALIEN, Island of, 113
Salasiow, Gregoir, pilot, 272 *et seq.*
Saldanha, Sieur Salema di, Governor of Macao, 38, 381
Saint Helena, 392
Saint Hilaire, M. de, 41, 389
Sartine, M. de, French Minister, 21
Seven Years' War, 53
Sibsaw, John, Captain, 135, 187
Siberia, 93 *et seq.*
Simusir, one of the Kurile Islands, identified with Mareekan, 49
Sipskoy, Boleslaus, an associate, dies at Macao, 387
Solmanow, Ivan, Juanies, Secretary of Senate at Moscow, 91, 124
Solmanow, 207
Spanberg, 141
Srebernikow, Nicholas, Captain, 34, 135, 187
Starosties, or fiefs, in Poland, 54
St. Louis, Chevalier de, 392
St. Maurice Bay, Behring's Isle, 257
St. Petersburg, 85 *et seq.*
Stephanow, an associate, 252
Stephanow, Hippolyte, Captain of Infantry, Diary of, 25, 91, 124; rival of Benyowsky, and has duel with him, 177
Synd, Lieut., the explorer, 48
Szoltik, or Szoltits, Prince Bishop of Cracow, 15, 17
Sudeikyn, Secretary of Chancery at Bolsheretsk, 118, 246

TACASIMA, Island of, 328, 329
Tajon, or native chief of a tribe in Siberia and Kamschatka, 136
Tartars, hordes of, 96 *et seq.*
Thompson, Benjamin, translator of Kotzebue's plays, 28
Thunberg, traveller and botanist in Japan, 25, 26, 319
Tinian, Island of, described by Lord Anson, 48, 123
Tinto Volangta, a Japanese woman, married to Benyowsky, 343
Tobolsk, 93 *et seq.*
Tola, River, 103
Tomszky, 97
Tonza, or Tosa, Island in Japan, 14, 313
Tsirikow, journal of, 141
Tsuktsy, tribes of Siberia, 109, 267
Tunguses, tribes of Siberia, 110

ULIKAMHY, an astronomical nobleman in Japan, 310, 313
Uljina, Islands of, 16
Urbanowsky, an associate, 252
Urban Sylvanus, Pseudonym of Editor of *Gentleman's Magazine*, 14
Urumusir, Island of, one of the Aleutians, 271
Usilpatchar, in Nipon, 16, 315
Usmay Ligon, or Liu-Kiu, Island, 331, 345

VELE-RETE rocks observed by Lord Anson, 377
Venceslaus, King of Bohemia, 57
Vendischow, a Swede, 83

wa, birthplace of Benyowsky, 30,

›y of Canton, 387
a, 31
euf, Lieutenant-Colonel, Gover- of Tomskzy, 97
de, or Russian Governor of vince, 99
imir, an exile and associate, 184, , 187, 188
ıow, George, an associate, dies at ɔao, 387
gta, Tinto, a Japanese woman rried to Benyowsky, 343
no of Krasnaia, in Kamschatka,

w, an associate, 188
us, M., the dramatist, 27
la, a Dutch port in Japan, 329
sky, 353

AW, 156; Union of Confederate holics, signed at, 57
i, the old servant of Benyowsky, ıember of committee, 124
tska, salt mines near Cracow, 59
es pursued by sword-fish, 253

Wolkow, John, 135
Wurzbach's Dictionary of Austrian Biography, 25
Wynbladth, Major, an associate, intimate friend of Benyowsky, 34, 85, 90, 93, 124, 187, 252

XIGUAMAY, native capital of tribe in North Formosa, captured by Benyowsky, 371 *et seq.*; pretended, 378
Ximo, Island of, in Japan, 313

YEDO, Gulf of, 316
Yenesei River, Angara river an affluent to the, 100

ZABLIKOW, Philip, an associate, 214, 222, 252; death of, 387
Zacharka, Alexis, death of, 387
Zadskoy, Prince Heraclius, 188; dies at Macao, 387
Zarskoy, Nicholas, an associate, dies at Macao, 387
Ziran, Alexander, an associate, dies at Macao, *ib.*
Zunaniecz, 76
Zunitta, a Dominican Priest, 382

The Gresham Press,
UNWIN BROTHERS,
WOKING AND LONDON.

D 285.8 .B4 .A3313 C.1
The memoirs and travels of Mau
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 035 801 575

D
285.8
B4A3313

DATE DUE			
		DOC JUL 17 1989	

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA
94305